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THOMAS



PENNANT Esq.

TOURS IN WALES,

BY

THOMAS PENNANT, ESQ;

With Notes, Preface, and Copious Index,

BY THE EDITOR,

JOHN RHYS, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF CELTIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD:

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

*An Account of the Five Royal Tribes of Cambria, and of the Fifteen Tribes of North Wales, and
their Representatives, with their Arms, as given in Pennant's
History of Whiteford and Holywell.*

VOL. I.

CAERNARVON:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY H. HUMPHREYS.

1883.

P325
1882
V.1

ADVERTISEMENT OF THE AUTHOR,

REFERRING TO THE FIRST PART.

THESE home-travels are the first part of an account of my own country.

THEY make of themselves a complete tour of the tamer parts of our country. In a future volume, the wild and romantic scenery will be presented, intermixed with the rich valleys so frequently interspersed. To which will be added an Appendix, containing the subjects referred to in this volume, with variety of other matter. I implore the aid of my countrymen to assist me in the attempt; and to favor me with the necessary materials. They will see, that great part of *Denbighshire*, and all parts of the four remaining counties of our principality, are still to be described. My frequent journeys through them, render me a tolerable master of their topography. I look up to my friends for history and anecdote latent among their papers; or references to our writers, least any facts lodged in books might escape my memory.

AMONG the gentlemen I am chiefly indebted to for information respecting the present work, I cannot pass unthanked,

PHILIP YORKE Esq; of *Erddig**;

JOHN MYTTON Esq; of *Halston*†;

THOMAS MOSTYN Esq; of the house of *Trelacre**;

* This mark denotes those who have died since the publication of the last edition of this Tour. Ed.

† Now deceased.

PETER DAVIES Esq; of *Broughton*;
 KENRICK EYTON Esq; of *Eyton*†;
 PAUL PANTON Esq; of *Bagilt**;
 LLOYD KENYON Esq; of *Gredington**;
 Mr. ROGER KENYON, of *Cefn**;

TO OWEN BRERETON Esq*; I owe the loan of the curious antiquities found in his estate near *Flint*, which are engraven in the plates v. and vi.

TO the reverend RICHARD WILLIAMS, of *Fron*, I am highly obliged for his poetical translations, marked R. W., and for the elegant version of the ode on *Owen Glyndwr*, to which that mark is omitted.

TO the late RICHARD MORRIS Esq; of the navy office, I owed much general information.

MR. HAWKER* of the custom house, *Chester*, favored me with a particular account of the commerce of that city.

THE reverend Mr. EDWARDS*, rector of *Llanfechan*, favored me with some excellent accounts of the parishes of *Oswestry*, *Sellatyn*, and *Hope*.

I RECEIVED several historical facts respecting the parish of *Whittington*, from the reverend Mr. ROBERTS*, rector of the parish.

THE reverend JOHN PRICE, public librarian, and the reverend JOHN JONES, fellow of *Jesus college*, *Oxford*, were indefatigable in furnishing me with extracts from the manuscripts of the university.

“ THE loss I sustained in 1793, by the death of the “ reverend JOHN LLOYD, rector of *Caerwys*, my worthy “ and constant attendant in all my excursions, was most “ severely felt and most sincerely lamented. None

“ equalled him for variety of information, which his great knowledge of our antient language qualified him to give to my singular instruction; and which I grieve to express with posthumous gratitude.

“ IN a great degree (for I must avoid flattering the living) I found an alleviation of my loss in the acquaintance of the reverend HENRY PARRY, a cheerful and amiable companion, endowed with much knowledge of the history of our country, and with much classical reading. I speak with gratitude of the goodness of our worthy prelate in attending to my recommendation of Mr. *Parry* to the vicarage of *Llanasaph*, one, who by his mirthful turn, and innocent conviviality, often soothed the waning evening of my life*.”

MR. WILKINSON†, painter in *Chester*, obliged me with many materials relative to that city.

To Mr. CALVERLY†, land surveyor of the same city, I owe some elegant plans, which will appear in a future volume.

THE drawings marked MOSES GRIFFITH, are the performances of a worthy servant whom I keep for that purpose. The candid will excuse any little imperfections they may find in them; as they are the works of an untaught genius, drawn from the most remote and obscure parts of *North Wales*. Those that wish to anticipate the views in the intended progress I am to make through the remaining counties, may satisfy themselves by the pur-

* This additional paragraph was probably written by Mr. *Pennant* in 1798, the year in which his valuable life terminated. The prelate to whom he expresses his obligation was the amiable *Lewis Bagot*. ED.

chase of the late publications of the admirable Mr. PAUL SANDBY, in whose labours fidelity and elegance are united.

DOWNING,
February 1, 1778.

THOMAS PENNANT.

ADVERTISEMENT OF THE AUTHOR,

REFERRING TO THE SECOND PART.

THIS journey is the continuation of my TOUR in WALES. Another part will appear with all convenient speed, and comprehend the remainder of *Caernarvonshire*, the Isle of *Anglesey*, the county of *Montgomery*, and conclude with some account of SHREWSBURY, the antient seat of the *British* princes; which will complete the second volume, and probably all that I shall say of our principality; for indolence, the forerunner of age, begins to check every new attempt.

THIS book contains a journey from my own house to the summit of *Snowdon*, and takes in almost the whole of our *Alpine* tract.

As far as the title announces, it is complete. A more general title-page will be given with the second part, and the journey continued regularly from p. 191.

I THANK my friends for variety of information, and must present my particular acknowledgements to Sir JOHN SEBRIGHT, baronet, for his liberal communication of several of the late MR. EDWARD LLWYD'S manuscripts, which have flung great light on several parts of our history.

DOWNING,
March 1, 1781.

THOMAS PENNANT.

ADVERTISEMENT OF THE EDITOR.

AFTER an interval of more than thirty years from the time of its first publication, a new edition of Mr. *Pennant's* Tour in *Wales* is now offered to the world, with some additions by its lamented and admirable author. To these are subjoined a few notes, chiefly indicative of the changes which have occurred during that period. More might, and more perhaps ought to have been added, but the Editor was unwilling to swell these volumes by his own observations: he has reason to hope that a much abler writer will, at no distant period, favor the public with an ample account of those parts of *Wales* which were unvisited by Mr. *Pennant*, of those few objects which might have escaped his notice, and of the vast improvements which have of late years taken place in the principality.

The Editor feels it a duty to state, that he has taken the liberty of omitting a few passages which he was satisfied the author, from his known candour and regard for accuracy, would have expunged; he has also, with the utmost diffidence, made a few verbal alterations, where the same epithet may have twice occurred, or a sentence have been carelessly constructed, from the rapidity with which

Mr. *Pennant* composed whatever he wrote. In other respects the original Tour has been faithfully reprinted. The engravings are after the drawings of the same ingenious artist, the untaught *Moses Griffith*, whose pencil embellished Mr. *Pennant*'s various publications.

It is hoped that the form in which this work is now given will render it of still more general utility, and lead to the more extended reputation of him who is now, alas! insensible to all mortal praise, of Him whose superior talents were ever dedicated to the amusement, the instruction, the service of his fellow-creatures!

May 10, 1810.

THE EDITOR.

ADVERTISEMENT OF THE EDITOR

TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

DURING one of those happy holidays I spent in the neighbourhood of Snowdon three years ago, Mr. *Humphreys* called on me with the proposal to republish *Pennant's Tours in Wales*: this he was going to do if I consented to see it through the press. Partly from a wish to know *Pennant's* Tours more thoroughly than I did, partly owing to my ignorance as to the amount of work it implied, and not a little also to the skilful manner in which Mr. *Humphreys* laid the matter before me, I promised to do what I could to aid him in his highly creditable undertaking. The enterprising spirit with which he is known to enter into all questions that concern our Welsh public requires no word of praise from me, but I must do him the justice of stating that in this instance the proposal was his, both in substance and in form; for he had definitely come to the conclusion that the edition of 1810 was the one to be reproduced, and in this he seems to me to have been perfectly right. It is true that it did not see the light till after *Pennant's* death, but it is to be remembered that it was brought out under the superintendence of the author's son, *David Pennant*, than whom

no one knew his father's wishes and views more intimately, and no one could have been more honestly concerned that nothing was done in any way prejudicial to his father's reputation as a man of letters. In point of fact, his text was carefully adhered to, with some trifling exceptions, described in the "advertisement of the editor." *David Pennant's* concern lest his father's text should be tampered with, or stuffed with matter not his own, is touched upon in the excellent sketch of *Pennant's* life, which follows this advertisement, and the evidence is very explicitly given in Appendix No. xxvii: it consists of an account by the historian of *Pembrokeshire*, *Richard Fenton*, as to how it came to pass, that he was not permitted to publish "a new edition of Mr. *Pennant's North Wales*," which he "had contracted with Messrs. *Longman & Co.* and Mr. *White*, to superintend and enlarge to the bulk of another volume." I candidly confess, that, though no blame is due to *Fenton*, I thoroughly sympathize with *David Pennant's* view of the question, and it will be found that I have acted accordingly; not that I could wish anybody to suppose that I have ever fancied myself possessed of the omniscience necessary to enable one, so to say, to post *Pennant's Tours in Wales* up to date. Were any such an attempt to be made, the result could not be called *Pennant's* work: it would be something very different and probably very inferior. So not only has it been my endeavour scrupulously to keep to the text and notes of the 1810 edition, not even excepting the errors in *Pennant's Welsh*, but the

notes now admitted will be found such as in no way to overburden the work. What *Pennant* wrote deserves to be given as he meant it to be, and I cannot help calling to the reader's mind Dr. *Johnson's* description of him: "*Pennant* has greater variety of inquiry than almost any man, and has told us more than perhaps one in ten thousand could have done in the time he took. He has not said what he was to tell, so you cannot find fault with him for what he has not told."

In the course of publication many kind friends came forward to offer me the benefit of their advice and other aid: I wish to thank them all most cordially. Unfortunately the space at my disposal does not permit of my enumerating them, but I could not pass over the two following names:—Mr. *O. B. Davies* very kindly permitted me and Mr. *Trevor Parkins* to have the loan of a very valuable interleaved copy of the *Tours*, which is in his possession and contains a variety of interesting documents, including Mr. *Fenton's* statement already referred to. But I am chiefly indebted to Mr. *Trevor Parkins*, whose willing aid has been of prime importance to me, though I have failed to overcome his modesty so far as to get permission to insert his name on the title-page. Besides numerous suggestions of various kinds, I have to thank him for a goodly number of brief and lucid notes, a most succinct and useful sketch of *Pennant's* life, and a very welcome introduction to the "Royal and Noble Tribes" of *Wales*, the account of which has been printed in Appendix No. xxviii. at full length,

from an Appendix to *Pennant's History of Whiteford and Holywell*. It was thought advisable to introduce it into the edition of the *Tours* on account of the Author's frequent allusions to the tribes. Their history is a very difficult and interesting question: I quite agree with Mr. *Trevor Parkins* as to the impossibility of accepting *Robert Vaughan's* account of them, and also as to the comparative lateness and patched nature of the arrangement in which they are presented to us; but, if I might venture to devote a few words to this subject here, I should distinguish carefully between the five Royal Tribes and the fifteen tribes of *North Wales*. The former present but little difficulty: *G. ap Cynan* represents *Gwynedd*, *R. ap Tewdwr*, *Deheubarth*, and *B. ap Cynfyn*, *Powys*, while *Ethelystan Glodrydd* and *Jestyn ap Gwrgant* represent the districts which had long been more or less completely under *English* dominion. The fifteen tribes of *North Wales*, or rather of *Gwynedd*, as they are more correctly called, seem to have absolutely nothing to do with the foregoing, and the words of Mr. *Trevor Parkins* about them are very significant, when he says—"The fifteen tribes belong exclusively to *North Wales*. They are principally found in *Anglesey* and *Caernarvonshire*, and in those parts of *Denbighshire* and *Flintshire* which did not belong to *Powis*. Their distribution is exceedingly irregular, but there seems to be something local in their arrangement Many difficulties will be explained if the tribes are believed to have been constituted subsequently to the reign of *Owain*

Gwynedd, in the last years of national independence, and to have been limited to the districts which remained unconquered." Granting this date, or even a later one, there are reasons which incline me to think that even then we only find the arrangement extant of the tribes more easily intelligible, while the question of the real origin must as, Mr. *Trevor Parkins* observes, be looked upon as obscure. I should be disposed to put it back into the prehistoric times when the inhabitants of *Gwynedd* were still *Goidels*, and had a tribal system differing from that of their neighbours the *Ordovices* of *Powys*, who were a *Brythonic* people and the introducers of the *Brythonic* language into *Wales*. In thinking so, I am chiefly influenced by the fact that the fifteen tribes belonged to *Gwynedd*, and that the most probable meaning of that name is a collection of tribes, or, if I may so term it, tribedom; for it seems to be nearly related to the Irish term *fine*, a sept or clan. This word may be presumed to have been in early times—nominative *Venedos*, genitive *Venedotos*, the former being now, in point of form, *Gwynedd*, and the latter *Gwynndod*, which we find in the Latinized form of *Venedotis* on an ancient inscribed stone at *Penmachno*, near *Bettws y Coed*, in *Caernarvonshire*. The whole inscription, which is unique, runs thus, and takes us back to the 6th or the 5th century:—CAN-
TIORI[X] HIC IACIT VENEDOTIS CIVE[S] FUIT CONSOBRINO[S]
MAGLI MAGISTRATI, that is to say, *Cantiori*[x] lies here: he was a citizen of *Venedot* and cousin to *Maglos* the Magistrate. What is meant by saying that a man was *cives* or

citizen of *Venedot* or *Gwyndod*, is not easy to answer; but I venture to think, as there seems to have never been a town of that name, that a citizen of *Venedot* simply meant that he was one who held a distinguished position in the tribedom of *Gwynedd*. With this application of the word *cives*, compare the difficulty which ancient writers seem to have experienced in the choice of *Greek* or *Latin* terms to describe the political or social system of other non-Brythonic races in *Britain*: I allude to *Pausanias* calling a people invaded by the *Brigantes*, *Γενούβια Μοῖρα*, that is to say, the ancestors probably of the *Picts* of *Galloway*; and *Adamnan*, who, writing about the end of the seventh century of a people dwelling somewhere on the mainland opposite *Skye*, terms them *Geona Cohors*.

Lest these remarks should exhaust the reader's patience, and more than exhaust my space, I close them by telling him that the notes emanating from Mr. *Trevor Parkins*, and the writer of these lines, are marked T.P.* and J. R. respectively, while those signed W. have been contributed by Mr. *Williams*, the author of a work on *Metalliferous Mines in Flintshire*. The other notes are copied from the 1810 edition, being *Pennant's* own, or else the editor's, in which case they are marked *Ed.* as they came from him.

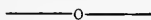
July 2, 1883.

JOHN RHYS.

* In his note p. 46, vol. i. 3rd line, read *eruor*, instead of *emor*; and in that on p. 141, same vol., 6th line, read *wall*, instead of *well*.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY W. TREVOR PARKINS, ESQUIRE.



MANY of the materials for a Life of *Pennant* can be collected from his works. In these he has described the long series of his literary labours, the friends and the associates by whom he was assisted, and the history of his family, of which he was unquestionably very proud. But though he has related his career as an author, it did not enter into his purpose to be his own biographer. There are many important circumstances in his life which he has failed to notice, or noticed only incidentally. And it is difficult, now that so long a time has elapsed, to obtain the additional information which is necessary to complete the narrative he has left imperfect.

THOMAS PENNANT, the eldest son of *David Pennant* and *Arabella Mytton*, was born at *Downing* in the parish of *Whiteford*, near *Holywell* in *Flintshire*, on the 14th of *June*, 1726. His father, who had succeeded to *Downing* two years before under the will of a distant relative, was the son and heir of *Peter Pennant*, the owner of an adjoining estate in the same parish, called *Bychton*, where the ancient family he represented had long been resident.

In the *History of Whiteford* there is a full account of the origin of the *Pennants*. Early in the twelfth century *Madoc ap Meiler*, tenth in descent from the great patriarch *Tudor Trevor*, settled down at *Bychton* on his marriage with *Alice*, the heiress of that place. His posterity continued there; and, when surnames began to be general, they adopted that of *Pennant*, which described the situation of their residence at the upper end of a considerable dingle. *David ap Tudor*, the first of the family who assumed the name of *Pennant*, was the first also who was married to an Englishwoman. His wife was *Anne*, daughter of *John Done*, of *Utkinton*, a Cheshire gentleman, and there was a numerous progeny of their marriage. *Rees*, the eldest of the sons, retained the antient patrimony in *Whiteford*, while *Thomas*, who was the second, entered the abbey of *Basingwerk*, and subsequently became the abbot. He filled that position with great credit, and his hospitality and munificence are highly praised by *Guttun Owain*, a very celebrated bard. After having enlarged and beautified the abbey, he quitted his profession, and became what was called a monk *cleraigné*, relieved from the vows he had taken, and allowed to marry. He availed himself of this dispensation; and, having married, he became the ancestor of the *Pennants* of *Bagillt*, *Holywell*, and *Penrhyn*.

The history of the line of *Bychton* appears to have been similar to that of many other families in *Wales*. For many generations it remained stationary, and neither increased nor diminished its possessions. The prosperity of

William Pennant, who was a goldsmith and jeweller at *Queen's Head* in *Smithfield*, and the friend of Sir *Hugh Myddelton*, did not permanently benefit his relatives; as the fruits of his industry were dissipated by a spendthrift, who died very fortunately before the paternal estate was ruined. In the Civil Wars the *Pennants* were active Royalists. Major *Hugh Pennant* was particularly distinguished for his services, and his elder brother, *David*, was an officer in the garrison of *Denbigh* when that town was besieged and taken, after a protracted resistance, by the forces of the Parliament. After the taking of *Denbigh*, this gallant gentleman underwent a long imprisonment, but the estate of *Bychton* escaped with a moderate composition for "delinquency," and was shortly afterwards materially augmented by the fortunate marriage of his son, who was also *David*, with *Catherine*, the heiress of *John Pennant* of *Holywell*.

Peter, the son of this marriage, and the grandfather of *Thomas Pennant*, survived till 1736. His grandson has described him as living in great hospitality at *Bychton*. Like *Sterne's* celebrated hero, he had seen service in *Flanders* with the army, in the reign of *Anne*; but in consequence of a quarrel with his colonel, Sir *Thomas Prendergast*, who refused to meet him in a duel, he resigned his commission, and withdrew to *Wales*. *David*, the eldest son of this jovial and warlike personage, was not bred to a profession. He succeeded to *Downing* in 1724, on the death of *Thomas Pennant*, the last survivor of a younger branch of the family, which during four generations had

been possessed of that estate. He married six months afterwards, and it is probable that the name of his celebrated son was intended by *David Pennant* to denote his gratitude to his benefactor.

Pennant invariably speaks of his father with affection and respect, he says that, though his education had in some degree been neglected, he was “*abnormis sapiens*” and “of the best of hearts.” But it was his “good and religious mother” who appears to have been the object of his tenderest attachment. She was the third daughter of *Richard Mytton* of *Halston*, the representative of an old and highly honourable family, whose ancient patrimony has unfortunately been squandered by the reckless extravagance of a late descendant. Like many of the best families in *England*, the *Myttons* in the Civil War had sided with the Parliament, and the great-grandfather of *Arabella Mytton*, a very able and successful general, commanded the forces which besieged and captured *Denbigh* when *David Pennant*, her husband’s ancestor, was an officer in the garrison. Her mother was *Arabella*, the eldest daughter of Sir *John Houblon*, Lord Mayor of *London* in 1695, Lord of the Admiralty in the reign of *William* the third, and the first Governor of the Bank of *England*. This eminent citizen, who is still remembered, was interred in the Church of *St. Christopher le Stocks*, which stood on the site of a portion of the present buildings of the Bank. It was pulled down in 1781, and *Pennant* has complained with great bitterness, in his *History of London*, of the way in which the burial place

where his mother and his sister had been deposited, with many of their kindred, was rudely desecrated.

His strong affection for his mother extended to her family, and *Pennant's* intercourse with these relatives had a considerable influence on his character. *William Mytton*, one of his uncles, was a learned and zealous antiquary, whose researches *Pennant* has made use of, and whose example was an encouragement to him in his own similar pursuits; while another of his uncles, *James Mytton*, was the kind friend of his youth, with whom he tells us that he lived long, and whose good sense, good heart, and polished manners, he has warmly praised.

David Pennant and his wife appear to have had three other children besides *Thomas*; a son *John*, who was more than a year younger than his brother, and who probably died in infancy; and two daughters *Sarah* and *Catherine*, who were twins, and born in 1729. They subsequently lived in St. *James', Westminster*, and died unmarried. *Sarah*, who died in 1780, was first buried with her mother in the Church of St. *Christopher le Storks*, and when that building was pulled down, their bodies were removed to *Hadley Church*, near *Enfield*, where *Catherine Pennant*, who survived her sister until 1797, was also buried.

Of *Pennant's* early life there is little to relate. He mentions that, in accordance with an ancient custom, he was put out to nurse at a neighbouring farm-house, and that his foster-parents, who were persons of great respectability, were fond of their office, which was looked upon as an especial honour. This custom, which

once was general in *Wales*, has long since become obsolete; and probably not many later instances of it can be found. Unquestionably it had some advantages. It helped to strengthen the attachment with which the gentry were regarded, and it facilitated their acquisition of the language of their countrymen, a matter of much social and no little political importance. As a gentleman of family and position, *Pennant* was all his life accustomed to the society of persons of rank and fortune. But his intercourse with the poor commenced in his early childhood, and he always shews himself to be practically acquainted with the wants, and disposed to sympathize with the hardships, of the humblest classes of the community.

While still a child he had an attack of the small pox, and his illness, though mild in form, was rendered dangerous by unskilful treatment. This terrible disease, to which *Pennant's* mother subsequently fell a victim, had been shown by the celebrated Dr. *Sydenham* to be best treated by a cool regimen, and thousands of lives are said to have been sacrificed by the neglect of his instructions.

At the age of twelve, a present of *Willoughby's Ornithology*, which was made him by his relation *Richard Salisbury*, the father of Mrs. *Thrale*, had a powerful effect on the mind of *Pennant*. And he has attributed to this circumstance the commencement of a love for Natural History, which never left him, and which determined the whole course of his subsequent career.

He was first sent to a school at *Wrexham*, where the Rev. *W. Lewis* was his first instructor. The epitaph of

this worthy man, which is printed in the *Tour in Wales*, is extremely elegant, and expresses the highest praise in short and unaffected words. From this school *Pennant* is said to have been removed to *Fulham*. I fail to discover how long he stayed there, or who it was that taught him. But as he has mentioned that much of his time, when a boy, was spent at *Hadley*, near *Enfield Chase*, where his uncle, the Rev. *John Pennant*, was the rector, it is not unlikely that some portion of his education was superintended by that gentleman, who appears to have been well fitted for the task, and who unquestionably possessed in a very high degree the esteem and the affection of his nephew. During this portion of his life he appears to have been a good deal in *London*. He was with his mother when she died there in *April* 1744, and took a tender leave of him on her deathbed. On the 7th of *March* in that year he entered the *University of Oxford*, and matriculated at *Queen's College* as a commoner. Nothing more than the fact of his matriculation is recorded in the books of that college; and he appears to have left *Oxford*, without taking a degree, after some years of residence. It is impossible to ascertain the reason why he did not become a graduate, but his studies were probably not neglected there, as his works shew him to deserve the praise of being a good *Latin* scholar.

In 1746, during his residence at the University, *Pennant* made a tour as far as *Cornwall*, where Dr. *Borlase*, the celebrated historian of that interesting county, gave him a kind reception, and encouraged him in a strong

taste which he had acquired for the study of minerals and fossils. In the discussions with regard to *Cromlechs*, Dr. *Borlase* was the first writer who established their sepulchral character; and *Pennant* was fortunate in obtaining, at so early a period of his life, the friendship of this worthy man and enlightened antiquarian.

The union of the two estates of *Downing* and *Bychton* had considerably increased the importance of his family, and on leaving the University, *Pennant* was able, as the heir of a gentleman of some fortune, to dispense with the labours of a profession, and to devote himself to his favourite pursuits. He wrote occasionally in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and a short paper, being part of a letter written by him to his uncle *James Mytton*, describing an earthquake which was felt at *Downing* in April 1750, appears to have been the first of his printed writings. The shock of this earthquake was violent, and as it happened at night, *Pennant* was greatly alarmed by it. He subsequently felt three other earthquakes at *Downing*, the effects of which he has described in a letter to Sir *Joseph Banks*, containing some ingenious observations, which will be found in the *History of Whiteford*.

In 1754, he became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquarians, and made an extensive tour in *Ireland*; of which however he kept no diary, being hindered, as it seems, from doing so by the attractions of the hospitality he experienced. And in the year following he began a correspondence with *Linnaeus*, which was continued for many years, until the age and infirmities of the great na-

turalist obliged him to withdraw from it. In 1757, at the instance of *Linnaeus*, he was elected a member of the Royal Society of *Upsala*, which he has himself spoken of as the first and the greatest of all his literary honours.

He married in 1759 *Elizabeth*, the daughter of *James Falconer*, Esq., of *Chester*: an amiable woman with whom he tells us that he vainly thought his happiness would be permanent. He settled down at *Whiteford* on his marriage, and in 1761 he served the office of High Sheriff of *Flintshire*, in the lifetime of his Father. But the study of Natural History still continued to be his principal occupation, and his work on *British Zoology* was commenced by him about that year. His father died in 1763, and in the summer of 1764 *Pennant* found himself a widower. His great work was now drawing towards completion, but the publication was delayed in consequence of a tour on the continent, which he made in the early part of 1765. In the course of this tour he became personally acquainted with *Buffon*, whom he visited at his country seat in *Burgundy*, and with Dr. *Pallas*, a celebrated *Dutch* naturalist, whose character he admired, and whose friendship he very highly valued. He also, while on this tour, paid a visit to *Voltaire* at *Ferney*, and he has given an account of that philosopher's conversation; which was extremely witty and amusing, until it began to be disfigured by the frightful oaths and curses which he poured out in great variety, when he endeavoured to exhibit his acquaintance with the *English* language.

The *British Zoology* appeared in a large folio volume

on the return of *Pennant* from his continental tour. The profits of the work were intended to be given to the *Welsh* school in *Gray's Inn Lane*. But, as might have been anticipated, the expense exceeded the calculation, and *Pennant* was a considerable loser by this his first and most magnificent publication.

His reputation however was established. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. And his great work was shortly afterwards republished in two quarto volumes, and with greater pecuniary success. Thus changed in form it went through several editions; and it was subsequently completed by two supplemental volumes, which appeared in 1769 and 1777. A *History of British Quadrupeds*, which came out in 1771, was another proof of the untiring industry of *Pennant*. This was a favourite work of his, and he lived to superintend two subsequent editions.

Honours continued to be paid him. In *May* 1771, the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by the University of *Oxford*, in full Convocation; when a laudatory speech was made by Mr. *Foster*, who presented him to the Vice Chancellor. This mark of public approbation was a sufficient testimony that his great merits were appreciated, and that he had secured himself a place in the foremost ranks of his contemporaries. It may furnish matter for surprise that *Pennant* should have attached a higher value to the title he had received from a *foreign* Society. But the early compliments of *Linnaeus* were at least as flattering as the language of the *Oxford* orator.

They were paid him at a time when his abilities were unrecognized by the world, and when praise and encouragement were more novel, and consequently more gratifying.

The progress of a century has necessarily caused the Zoological works of *Pennant* to be superseded by more recent publications; but his name like those of *Buffon* and *Linnaeus*, will always be associated with the History of his favourite science, and he was now fortunately led by circumstances to commence a long series of works of another character, the interest of which has proved to be more permanent.

In 1771 he published, in a single volume, under the title of a *Tour in Scotland*, the description of a journey which he had made two years before. The circumstances under which this journey was commenced, are described by him in his preface. And it is evident from the book itself, even if he had not said so, that it was *Zoology* that sent him on his travels. The manner in which *Pennant's* journeys were performed, and the descriptions of them written, is nowhere so apparent as in this *Tour in Scotland*; and for this reason a short account of it may be not uninteresting.

This journey, which, according to his usual custom, *Pennant* made on horseback, occupied him a little less than three months, three weeks of which were spent in *England*. Setting out from *Chester* on the 26th of *June*, he rode that day a distance of 72 miles, as far as *Chesterfield*. Passing through *Lincoln*, which he has briefly noticed, he went on to *Spalding*. He observed many of

the birds for which the *Fen* country is so celebrated; and then returning to *Lincoln* he crossed the *Humber*, and reached *Burton Constable*, eight miles beyond *Hull*, on the evening of the fourth day from *Chester*.

After staying a few days at *Burton Constable*, *Pennant* resumed his journey, and, travelling more leisurely, arrived at *Berwick* in a fortnight. While in *Yorkshire* he kept along the coast, apparently that he might observe the sea birds that frequent the cliffs of *Flamborough*, and in order that he might visit *Scarborough*, where he has described the fisheries. His account of *Durham* is extremely meagre. And in *Northumberland* the principal incidents of his tour are, a visit to *Alnwick* castle, which caused the famous quarrel, described by *Boswell*, between the Bishop of *Dromore* and Dr. *Johnson*; and an excursion which he made to *Bamborough*, and to the *Farn* Isles, where he found the *eider* ducks then sitting, and enumerated a great variety of sea fowl.

From *Berwick*, *Pennant*, keeping along the coast, proceeded to *Dunbar*. *Zoology* was still his principal attraction, and he paid a visit to the *Bass Rock*, in the *Frith of Firth*, the celebrated resort of the *Solan* geese, on his way from *Dunbar* to *Edinburgh*. *Pennant* stayed for a week at the *Scotch* metropolis. He inspected the town, and described many of the buildings; and he made several excursions into the neighbourhood, especially to *Newbottle* and to *Dalkeith*; in both of these houses he found many pictures, which, according to his custom, he has fully noticed.

Zoology now ceased to occupy an undue share of his attention, and the interest of his tour consequently increases. Having left *Edinburgh* he crossed the *Firth* at *Queen's Ferry*, and landing in *Fife*, passed on by *Loch Leven* to *Perth*; and there turned into the *Highlands*, which at that time were very little known, and seldom visited by *Englishmen*. He penetrated this interesting district as far as *Taymouth*, and, after visiting *Blair Athole*, and traversing the pass of *Killicrankie*, he stayed with Mr. *Farquharson*, at *Invercauld*, and from there made his way to *Aberdeen*. In the further prosecution of his journey, *Pennant*, travelling along the coast from *Aberdeen*, arrived at the extremity of the island. From *John O'Groat's House* he retraced his steps to *Inverness*, and then crossed over to *Fort William*, and proceeded to *Glasgow*, after visiting *Inverary* and *Loch Lomond*. From *Glasgow* he went on to *Edinburgh*, and "after a few days experience of the same hospitality" he had met with in the *Highlands*, he took the road through *Moffatt* and *Lockerby* to *Carlisle*, and, accomplishing his journey from *Edinburgh* in five days, finally reached *Downing* on the 22nd of *September*.

In describing the districts which he travelled through, *Pennant* has particularly observed the birds and the animals, as well as the plants and the forests, which he saw. He has noticed the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and called attention to the superstitions still existing among the *Highlanders*, and to the social changes which the abolition of the feudal authority of the chief-

tains had then recently effected. He was unquestionably an acute observer, and, though travelling rapidly through a country before unknown to him, he may sometimes have fallen into mistakes himself, and sometimes been misled by his informants, his general accuracy is remarkable. His narrative is founded on his daily journal of his progress, but he has skilfully interwoven into his own observations a variety of historical information, and many well told anecdotes, which enhance the interest of his book. As a gentleman of fortune, he travelled with all the means at his command which could facilitate his enquiries; and in each locality that he visited, his reputation as a writer procured him the ready aid of the intelligent and the learned. He has candidly acknowledged his obligations to many persons who supplied him with information, and it is obvious that the circumstances under which he wrote were favourable. But the skill with which *Pennant* has made use of the materials he collected was his own. He was able to distinguish what was suitable for his narrative, and, from whatever source it came to him, to set it before his readers to the best possible advantage.

The *Tour in Scotland* was received with great favour by the public. The first edition was quickly sold, and the second edition as speedily in the year following. *Pennant* was induced by this success to undertake another journey into *Scotland* in 1772. The experience which he gained during this second tour enabled him to make many additions and corrections in the description of

the first, which he inserted in a third edition in 1774. This edition contains a new and valuable appendix, and new plates, most of them from drawings made by *Moses Griffith*, a self taught artist whom he had taken into his service, and who attended him on all his journeys with the exception of the first. On his second journey into *Scotland* he was accompanied by two gentlemen, one of whom, the Rev. *J. Lightfoot*, was an accomplished botanist, and the author of the *Flora Scotica*, an elaborate work in two volumes, which was published in 1777, at a considerable expense, by *Pennant*. Setting out again from *Chester* on this occasion, *Pennant* with his companions approached *Scotland* on the west, and passing along the coast of *Lancashire* and *Cumberland* to *Carlisle*, proceeded leisurely from *Carlisle* to *Glasgow*. It is impossible to follow them on their progress. But a description of this second tour in *Scotland*, which included a *Voyage to the Hebrides*, appeared in two volumes in 1774 and 1775, and is a work of equal merit with the volume which described the first. And in 1780 a volume by the Rev. *C. Cordiner*, Episcopal Minister at *Banff*, entitled *Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland*, and intended to complete what *Pennant* had left unfinished, was published at his expense, and may be looked upon as a useful supplement to the *Scotch Tours*.

During this period of his life, *Pennant* tells us that he was possessed with an active love of travelling. In 1774 he visited the isle of *Man* in company with several of his friends, among whom were *Grose*, and the Rev. *Hugh*

Davies. But his journal on this occasion, and the materials which he had collected, were unfortunately lost about a year afterwards, and he was unable to execute his intention of giving an account of that island to the public.

His love of travelling continued for some years down to the time of his second marriage. And he made a variety of tours in *England* and in *Wales*, almost all of them on horseback, and travelling in the same manner as he did in *Scotland*, and with the same eager spirit of curiosity. He kept regular journals of these tours; some of which still exist in manuscript, and others he prepared for the press, and either published them himself or left them ready for publication.

The three tours in *Wales* were undertaken in 1773 and 1776, and his account of them was brought out slowly and by degrees; the first volume appearing in 1778, and the other volume, which was issued in two parts, and comprised both the second tour entitled a *Journey to Snowdon*, and the third tour, following it after a long interval in 1781. A new edition of the first volume with several additions and corrections was printed in 1783, and the two volumes were published together as one work, under the title of a *Tour in Wales*, in 1784. And thus finally completed, they in a great measure assumed the character of a description of *North Wales* and the adjacent borders.

This work may be looked upon as his best performance. It differs in its construction from his earlier *Tours*, which retain much of their original character of a daily journal,

and it is superior to them as a well ordered narrative, being written and put together with greater care and skill. In travelling through his native country, *Pennant* had the advantage of a previous acquaintance with most parts of it. The history and the traditions of the places which he visited were familiar to him. He spoke the language of the people, and he was personally well known to many of the leading gentry, and consequently able to obtain more easily much valuable information. It is certain that he spared no labour to ensure correctness; and the friends and correspondents, whose names he has enumerated, largely aided him by their communications. He has particularly acknowledged his obligations to the Rev. *John Lloyd*, Rector of *Caerwis*, who accompanied him in all his journeys through *Wales*, and rendered him the most useful assistance, without which, to borrow his own language, many things might have escaped him, and many errors crept into his labours.

In 1777, after having been a widower for many years, *Pennant* married his second wife, who was *Ann*, the sister of his friend and neighbour Sir *Roger Mostyn*. And after this marriage, which was a very happy one, his love of travelling considerably diminished. But he still continued, with the same industry as before, to superintend fresh editions of the books he had already published, and to bring out others. Natural History was not deserted by him, and his work on *Arctic Zoology*, which appeared in 1785, was received with favour and speedily translated into *German*, and the introduction to it, under the title

of *Le Nord du Globe*, was also translated into *French*. But his activity was versatile: and his *Journey from Chester to London*, which first appeared in 1782, as well as his *History of London*, which he published in 1790, and which he tells us "was composed from the observations of perhaps half a life," were both of them very popular, and went through a number of editions.

The most remarkable of *Pennant's* many books appeared in 1793, and was entitled in order, as he expresses it, to announce "the termination of his authorial existence," *The Literary Life of the late Thomas Pennant, by Himself*. In this he has recounted with considerable detail the industry of his past years, and enumerated his published and unpublished works. He has introduced many interesting notices of his literary associates; and, though unfortunately more reticent than we might have wished with regard to his own domestic circumstances, he has related at full length the complete history of his writings.

An account of the *Patagonians*, addressed to the Honourable *Daines Barrington*, the author of *Observations on the more Antient Statutes*, and a friend of *Pennant*, is printed in the Appendix to the *Literary Life*; where are also placed a number of papers written at different times, and treating of a variety of subjects, some of them of a local character, and some political and social.

In the *Literary Life* he represents himself as still occupied with the preparation of new editions of works already published, but resolved for the future not again to be an author. Such a resolution was not likely to be

persisted in; and in 1796, he gave to the world his *History of Whiteford and Holywell*, which he had finished before the end of the preceding year. This work of his old age is one of the most entertaining of his books. It describes the places with which he had been all his life acquainted, and it contains many curious and instructive anecdotes, and a variety of information with respect to the former members of the *Pennant* family.

The name of his native parish, to which he has given such celebrity, is commonly written, as it is pronounced, *Whitford*. And his mode of writing it, which is here necessarily followed, appears to be founded on a mistaken derivation. The circumstance is itself a very trifling one, but it is perhaps useful to remember that the science of language is now better understood than it was formerly, and that the opinion of *Pennant*, a writer of the last century, is not to be accepted as conclusive in disputed questions of etymology.

The *History of Whiteford and Holywell* was produced under melancholy circumstances. The loss of his youngest daughter, which he has feelingly lamented, is said to have given him a shock from which his spirits never completely recovered. He suffered severely from an accident which long confined him to his room. And he felt very deeply the death of his brother-in-law, Sir *Roger Mostyn*, which deprived him of a near neighbour, and a highly valued and very early friend.

In addition to these domestic misfortunes, we are told by his son that "the melancholy situation of public affairs,

and the progress of Gallic barbarism which threatened to overturn all institutions, social and sacred," weighed heavily on *Pennant's* mind. He was now 72, and his health visibly gave way. But his love for travels was unabated, and early in 1798, he brought out *A View of Hindoostan* in two volumes, being a small portion of a vast imaginary tour which he had planned and executed under the ambitious title of *Outlines of the Globe*. This was the last publication he superintended, and after a painful illness borne with exemplary resignation, his life of amazing activity came to an end, on the 16th of the December following, at *Downing*, where it had begun.

Two more volumes of the *Outlines of the Globe* comprehending *China*, *Japan*, *New Holland*, and the *Archipelago of the Indian Ocean*, were published in 1800 by his eldest son *David Pennant*, who has prefixed to the first volume an affectionate account of the last years of his father's life, and who subsequently caused the minor tours, from *Downing to Alston Moor*, from *Alston Moor to Harrogate*, and from *London to the Isle of Wight*, to be given to the world. In accordance with *Pennant's* own wish, that the journals of his other tours should not be published, they remain in manuscript, along with the numerous volumes of the *Outlines of the Globe*, which if they stood alone would be a noble monument of his industry. A complete list of all the works he has printed would occupy too great a length, but a sufficient number has been mentioned to justify the astonishment he expresses at the multiplicity of his publications. He had various duties to

discharge, which he confidently asserts were not neglected, ‘as father of a family, landlord of a small but numerous tenantry, and a not inactive magistrate,” and in addition to these serious cares, he boasts that in the midst of his reigning pursuits he never neglected the company of his convivial friends, or shunned the society of the gay world.

But though his lively disposition made him an agreeable companion, his prudence taught him to avoid excess, and his temperance through life was uniform. To this, and to the riding exercise of his extensive tours, as well as to his excellent constitution, he owed the large share of health which he enjoyed. He was of fair complexion, slightly above the middle height, and his features are pourtrayed by the two pictures taken at different periods of his life which are preserved at *Downing*. In the first of these he is represented as a young man in a *Vandyke* dress, and wearing his own hair. The artist was a Mr. *Willis*, who subsequently became a clergyman, and an engraving of this picture is placed at the commencement of the edition of the *Tours in Wales* published in 1810. The other picture was painted in 1776, when *Pennant* was 50 years old, and a successful author, and is well known by the engraving of it prefixed to his *Literary Life*, a copy of which appears as a frontispiece to this volume. In this admirable picture *Gainsborough* seems to have completely understood the character of the man who stood before him, and he has delineated him as a high bred gentleman, not unconscious of his own importance, and gifted with a calm and penetrating intelligence.

Dr. *Johnson*, when praising *Pennant* as a traveller, has strongly denounced him as a Whig. And in his *Tours in Scotland* he certainly showed himself a zealous supporter of the *Hanoverian* dynasty. His family seems to have been *Jacobite* one, but he may have acquired his political notions from his mother's relations, or from his uncle the Rev. *John Pennant*, who was chaplain to the Princess of *Wales*. He was however, above all things, a strong lover of the Constitution. In 1779, at a period when the influence of the Crown was supposed to have exceeded its due bounds, he took part in a petition from *Flintshire*, which was directed against the government of Lord *North*. While a few years later he condemned the factious proceedings of the *Coalition* government; and at the general election in 1784 he published a *Letter from a Welsh Freeholder to his Representative*, written just before the dissolution of Parliament on the 25th of *March*, in which he strongly condemned the opposition to Mr. *Pitt*, and denounced the unconstitutional provisions of Mr. *Fox's* celebrated *India Bill*. From this time he continued a steady adherent of the government, and in 1792 he took a leading part in the formation of an association of the inhabitants of *Holywell* and *Whiteford*, and the adjoining parishes in *Flintshire*, for the support of the established institutions of the country, which then he thought were violently threatened. An account of this Loyal Association will be found in the Appendix to the *Literary Life*, and *Pennant* designates it as his last and best work.

Pennant had four children. By his marriage with *Eli-*

zabeth Falconer, he had *David*, who succeeded him at *Downing*, and *Arabella*, who married *Edward Hanmer*, Esq., of *Stockgrove*. By his marriage with his second wife, *Ann Mostyn*, who survived him, he had a daughter, *Sarah*, who died at the early age of fourteen to the great grief of her parents, and a son, *Thomas*, who became the rector of *Weston Turville* in *Buckinghamshire*. The rev. *Thomas Pennant* who died in 1846, at the age of 65, married *Caroline*, daughter of *Thomas Griffith*, Esq. of *Rhual*, but left no children by his marriage.

David Pennant, who succeeded at *Downing*, inherited his father's love for literature, and a large share of his ability. He was appointed the sole executor of his father's will, and one of the guardians of *Thomas*, his younger brother. He brought out the various works which were published after the death of *Pennant*; and, as has been already mentioned, he either edited himself, or superintended new editions of several of the *Tours*. He published in 1810, the *Tours in Wales* in three 8vo. volumes, with short and very judicious notes. In this edition the text as settled by *Pennant* in 1784, is carefully adhered to, with some trifling alterations; but an improvement in the arrangement of the work is effected by the transfer to the Appendix of the account of *Owen Glyndwr*, which originally formed a portion of the first *Tour*.

A proposal to publish an enlarged edition of the *Tours in Wales*, with additional matter by *Fenton*, the author of the *History of Pembrokehire*, had been previously made to *David Pennant* by some *London* booksellers, and failed

to be carried out in consequence of his very sensible objections. He appears to have clearly understood that his father's work was valuable in the form in which he had written it, and that no attempt to overlay it with fresh matter could possibly be successful. If the *Tours in Wales* had purported to be a full description of the districts which *Pennant* traversed, it might have been desirable to supply the deficiencies in his narrative; but as they are only a record of the observations of a traveller, who has designedly selected for himself the objects which he thought fit to notice, and much of their merit depends upon the conciseness of the language, the judgment of *David Pennant*,—who of all men in the world was most intimately acquainted with the views and the wishes of his father,—was certainly correct, and he deserves to be commended for resisting the importunities of the Booksellers.

David Pennant, who unfortunately perhaps was a collector rather than an author, gave evidence of his taste and research by a magnificent edition of his father's *London*, which he printed in 1819 in eight folio volumes, entitled *Some Account of London, by Thomas Pennant, Esq. Illustrated by his Son, David Pennant, Esq.*

This accomplished gentleman, whose name deserves to be remembered along with that of his celebrated father, married *Louisa*, daughter of Sir *Henry Peyton*, and died in 1841 at the age of 77, having survived his only child *David Pennant*, who died in 1835.

David Pennant, junior, was twice married. By his first wife, Lady *Caroline Spencer Churchill*, only daughter

of the fourth Duke of *Marlborough*, he had a daughter, *Caroline*, who died at the age of eight; and by his second wife, Lady *Emma Brudenel*, daughter of the sixth Earl of *Cardigan*, he had another daughter, *Louisa*, who succeeded to her grandfather.

Louisa Pennant, the last descendant of *Thomas Pennant*, married in 1846 Viscount *Feilding*, the present Earl of *Denbigh*, and died on the 1st of *May* 1853, at the early age of twenty four. She had no children; and at her death, *Downing*, and a large portion of the estates, which she was able to devise, became the property of her husband; while the remainder of the estates, passed, under the will of *David Pennant*, to a relation of his mother, Mr. *Philip Pennant Pearson*, who has assumed the name of the antient family which allied itself with his own.

Pennant was fortunate in his friends. In the *Literary Life*, and the *History of Whiteford*, he has described many of the number, some of them men of eminence themselves, and some, like *Moses Griffith*, and his *French* valet *Lewis Gould*, only known in consequence of their connection with him. Most of them preceded him to the grave. And his Will, which he executed in the last year of his life, contains a variety of legacies given, in testimony of his regard, to those who were then surviving. It also contains gifts of several annuities, and a bequest of £200 to trustees for the son and daughter of *Moses Griffith*; and the following passages, in which these provisions are contained, will be read with interest:—

“I give and devise unto *Anne King*, of *Richmond*, late servant to *James Mytton* esquire, one annuity or clear yearly rent or sum of ten pounds and ten shillings: and I give, demise, and bequeath unto *John Williams*, my late agent, and his assigns, for and during the term of his natural life, one annuity or clearly yearly rent of twenty pounds: and to *Edward Jones*, my agent, and his assigns, for and during the term of his natural life, one annuity or clearly yearly rent or sum of twenty pounds.

“I give and bequeath to *William Myddelton* of the *Middle Temple*, Esquire, and the Honorable *Daines Barrington*, the sum of ten guineas each. To *Philip Yorke*, senior, of *Erddig*, Esquire, the like sum. To Lady (*Amelia*) *Lloyd*, of *Pengwern*, the like sum. To Mrs. *Havard*, of *Holywell*, the said *Paul Panton*, *Thomas Thomas*, Esq. of *Downing*, the Reverend *John Foulkes*, of *Mertyn*, the Reverend *Hugh Davies*, of *Aber*, Mr. *George Paton*, of the Customhouse, *Edinburg*, and Mr. *Ralph Richardson*, of *Llanerchymor*, the sum of five guineas each, for them to purchase some memorial of my esteem. And also, three guineas for the same purpose to the Reverend *Robert Williams*, late Curate of *Whitford*. To the Reverend *Henry Parry*, of *Holywell*, I bequeath twenty pounds. I also bequeath to each servant living with me at my decease, one year's wages over and above what may be due to them respectively. The before mentioned legacies to be paid at the expiration of six months after my decease.

“I give and bequeath unto my son *David Pennant*, and the Reverend *John Foulkes*, Vicar of *Whitford*, and the survivor of them, and the executors and administrators of such survivor, the sum of two hundred pounds, Upon trust that my said trustees *David Pennant* and *John Foulkes* and the survivor of them, and the executors or administrators of such survivor, do and shall dispose of and lay out the same for promoting or putting to business *Moses* the son, and *Margaret* the daughter of *Moses Griffith*, of the parish of *Whitford*, painter, or otherwise to be employed for the use of the said *Moses* the son, and *Margaret* the daughter, at any period of their lives.”

In his affection for his patron, *Moses Griffith* had declined many offers of situations that were much more lucrative, and he continued for about 50 years in the employment of *Pennant* and his son. He had a pension from *David Pennant*, when he became incapacitated to follow his vocation; and a small annuity was also granted to his widow. He died at *Whiteford* in 1819, and his services are commemorated by the following epitaph on his tombstone, which was written by *David Pennant*.

“IN MEMORY

OF

Moses Griffith, an ingenious

self-taught Artist, who

accompanied *Thomas Pennant*,

the Historian, in his Tours,

whose works he illustrated

by his faithful Pencil.

died November 11th, 1819, Aged 72.”

Time, which levels all distinctions, frequently reverses the relative importance of the dead. And this humble man of genius, who was paid the wages of a servant, is an object of greater interest to us than any of the associates of *Pennant*. His “faithful pencil” has preserved many things, which, without it, would have been lost. The stranger who visits *Whiteford* will be struck with the changes that have taken place. He will find *Bychton* turned into a cottage, and a large portion of the ancient house pulled down; while *Downing* has been enlarged and considerably altered; and he must turn again to the

drawings of *Moses Griffith* to understand clearly what was seen and described by *Pennant*.

As a writer on *Natural History*, *Pennant* has been highly praised for the happy facility he possessed of interesting his readers in matters which, in other hands, would have been dull and technical. "His character," says one of his admirers, who was himself a naturalist, "was one of rare occurrence, uniting the greatest application with the most disinterested love of literature; for he held a station in society, which rendered him above the daily duties of professional authorship. Whatever he touched, he beautified; either by the elegance of his diction, the historic illustrations he introduced, or the popular charm he gave to things well known before."

If he is regarded as a traveller, *Pennant's* superiority is unquestionable. It may be admitted that in some of his works he has borrowed too copiously from books; and that the *Journey to London*, and the *Tours* which were published posthumously, fall considerably short of the high excellence of the *Tours in Wales*; and that even in this, which is his most perfect work, the third part is not equal to the other two. It may be admitted also, that he has sometimes been led into inaccuracies; and in particular that, with regard to the history of architecture, his knowledge was not greater than that of his contemporaries. But when these, and all other reasonable admissions, have been made, his reputation will remain the same.

A discriminating judgment will recognize the extent

and the variety of his merits. He exhibits an active curiosity. He observes more than most men; and he describes whatever he observes with an accuracy and terseness, which those who have followed him and tested the correctness of his descriptions for themselves, will best be able to appreciate. He avoids fine writing, and his style is clear and unpretending. He is almost always free from vanity, and he never fatigues his reader by talking unnecessarily about himself. He is diligent in his search for information, and he knows where to look for it. He avails himself of the observations of former travellers, and discovers what is worthy to be repeated in the dry notes of *Leland* and the rambling itinerary of *Giraldus*. He abounds in anecdotes, which are always pertinent, and he never spoils them by the telling. He is an antiquary, who is not dull; a man of learning, who is acquainted with the world; and a writer, who is scarcely ever tedious, because he knows, by a sort of instinct, when it is desirable that he should leave off. These are merits which he possesses, and they justify the praise of Dr. *Johnson*, who has called *Pennant* the best traveller he ever read.

In compiling this account, I have endeavoured, as far as I was able, to do justice to a writer who is, in his own line at least, of the highest excellence, and to pay honour to a *Welsh* gentleman, whose great abilities were successfully employed to illustrate the history of his country. It only remains for me to thank those persons who have kindly assisted me in what I have attempted. And particularly

to express my many obligations to the Earl and Countess of *Denbigh*; Mr. *P. P. Pennant* of *Nantllys*; the Rev. *T. Z. Davies*, vicar of *Whiteford*; Mr. and Mrs. *Storey*, the present occupiers of *Downing*; Mr. *E. G. Salisbury*; and to that worthy, and most obliging, antiquary, Mr. *Thomas Hughes*, F.S.A., of *Chester*.



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PART I.

FROM

DOWNING THROUGH CHESTER,

HOLT, BANGOR, OVERTON, ELLESMERE,

WHITTINGTON, OSWESTRY,

CHIRK, LLANGOLLEN, WREXHAM,

GLYNDWRDWY, LLANARMON, MOLD, AND

CAERWYS TO DOWNING.

THE
TOUR IN NORTH WALES,

MDCCLXXIII.

I NOW speak of my native country, celebrated in our earliest history for its valour and tenaciousness of liberty; for the stand it made against the *Romans*; for its slaughter of their legions^a, and for its subjection by *Agricola*, who did not dare to attempt his *Caledonian* expedition, and leave behind him unconquered so tremendous an enemy.

When our first invaders landed in *Great Britain*, *North Wales* was possessed by the *Ordovices*, a name derived from the language of the country, denoting the situation;⁽¹⁾ it being almost entirely bounded by the river *Deva*, or the modern *Dee*, and by another river of the name of *Dyfi*^b. The one flows into the *Irish* sea below

^a *Vita Agricole.*

(¹) This is not quite correct, as the *Ordovices* are said to have extended from the *Dee* to the *Teifi*, or even to the *Gwaun*, by *Abergwaun*, or *Fishguard*; and their name probably means the hammerers, from the word *ord*, now *gordd*, a hammer or mallet. The ornamented and formidable stone axe-hammers, discovered in ancient finds, seem to have been the war-weapons meant. J.R.

^b Mr. *Llewelyn* in *Camden* II. 778.

Chester, the other into the same sea on the borders of *Cardiganshire*.

THE spirit which the people shewed at the beginning, did not desert them to the last. Notwithstanding they were obliged to submit to the resistless power of the *Romans*, they never fell a prey to the enervating charms of luxury, as the other nations of this island did; they never, with womanish invocations, requested the aid of the deserting conquerors, or sunk beneath the pressure of the new invaders; they preserved an undaunted courage amidst their native rocks, and received among them the gallant fugitives, happy in congenial souls. The hardy *Saxons*, for above three centuries, could not make an impression even on our low lands. *Offa* was the first, who extended his kingdom for some miles within our borders. His conquest was but temporary; for we possessed *Chester*, the capital of the *Cornavii*, till the year 883, when it was wrested from us by the united force of the Heptarchy under the able *Egbert*. This indeed reduced our confines; but did not subdue our spirit. With obdurate valour we sustained our independency for another four centuries, against the power of a kingdom more than twelve times larger than *Wales*; and at length had the glory of falling, when a divided country, beneath the arms of the most wise, and most warlike of the *English* monarchs.

I NATURALLY begin my journey from the place FLINTSHIRE.
of my nativity, *Downing*, in the township of *Eden-Owain*,⁽¹⁾ in the parish of *Whiteford*, in the county of *Flint*. To give a general idea of this shire, the reader must learn, that it is the lest⁽²⁾ of the twelve *Welsh* counties. Its northern side is washed by the estuary of the *Dee*, the *Seteia Estuarium*⁽³⁾ of *Ptolemy*. The land rises suddenly from the shore in fine inequalities, clayey, and plenteous in corn and grass, for two, three or four miles, to a mountainous tract that runs parallel to it for a considerable way.

THE lower part is divided by picturesque dingles, which descend from the mountains, and open to the sea, filled with oaks. The inferior parts abound with coal and freestone; the upper with minerals of lead and calamine, and immense strata of limestone and chert. The principal trade of the county is mining and smelting.

THE northern part of *Flintshire* is flat, and very rich in corn, especially wheat, which is generally exported to *Liverpool*. The county, in most

⁽¹⁾ *Downing* is probably a planing down of the name here somewhat fancifully spelled *Eden-Owain*, or *Owen's Eden*. While ready to admit that it is a little *Eden*, the Editor must regard the name as that of a man, and more usually written *Ednywain*, or *Ednowain*; probably the full name was *Bod-* or *Llys-Ednywain*—*Ednywain's* Abode, or *Ednywain's Court*. J.R.

⁽²⁾ This is Mr. *Pennant's* usual way of spelling *least*. J.R.

⁽³⁾ The *Seteia Estuarium* is now believed to have been the mouth of the *Mersey*. J.R.

places, raises more than is sufficient for the use of the inhabitants. It is extremely populous; and in the mineral parts composed of a mixed people, whose fathers and grandfathers had resorted here for the sake of employ out of the *English* mine counties; many of whose children, born of *Welsh* mothers, have quite lost the language of their fathers.

A LOFTY range of mountains rises on the west, and forms a bold frontier. Our county is watered by several small rivers; such as the *Alyn*, the *Terrig*, and the *Wheler*; part of its western boundary by the *Clwyd*; and *Maelor*, a disjoined part of the county, by the *Dee*.

WE are ignorant of the classical name of this little province. The *Ordovices*, of which all to the west of *Cheshire* was a part, were subdivided in the time of the *Romans*, in all probability, as the rest of the country was. They had *Reguli*, or Lords, who ruled over little districts, and united under a common leader when the exigencies of the time required. These factions weakened the state, separated its interest, and facilitated its conquest by the first invaders.

THE names of these districts are now unknown. *Gwynedd* is the most antient we are acquainted with for the country of *North Wales*. The portion I inhabit was called *Tegangle*,⁽¹⁾ which com-

(1) The more usual spelling is *Tegeingl*, which looks even more:

prehends the three modern hundreds of *Coleshill*, *Prestatyn*, and *Rhuddlan*. The name is preserved in the mountainous parts of *Whiteford*, and of some other parishes, to this day called *Mynydd Tegang*. I reject the translation of *Tegengle* into *Fair England*, as a mongrel compound. The word is of a much more antient date; it being derived from *Cangi* or *Ceangi*, a set of people, according to the learned *Baxter*, belonging to every *British* nation; who attended the herds and resided with them in different grazing grounds at different times of the year. The neighbouring *Cornavii* had their *Ceangi*, who wintered in *Wiral*, and took their summer residence in *Tegangle*; a word to be properly derived on that account from *Teg*, fair; *Cang*, the name of the people; and *Lle*, a place. To corroborate which, at this very day is a plain in the parish of *Caerwrys*, a part of the old *Tegangle*, adjoining to this mountain, that still retains the title of *Maes can harod*, or the plain of the hundred summer residences. For this reason I presume to differ from Mr. *Baxter*, in his notion of the summer residence of these *Cangi*.⁽¹⁾

like *Teg-Anglia*; but the derivation may be from the Welsh *ongl*, a corner, and the name would then have meant the *Fair Corner*, or *Fair Angle*. But it is still more likely, that it perpetuates the name of an ancient people to be mentioned at once. J.R.

(1) The existence of the *Cangi* is somewhat problematical: the passage in *Tacitus*, where one used to read *inde Cangos*, is now treated by the best Editors as *in Decangos*, which would be the name travestied by our later form, *Tegengl*. J.R.

He places it near the *Canganorum*⁽¹⁾ *Promontorium*, or *Braich y pell head* in *Caernarvonshire*; but those were the *Cangi* of the *Ordovices*, these of the *Cornavii*.

It may be remarked, that, contrary to what happens to most subdued nations, our country preserved its own language: and the conquerors even deigned to adopt the names of the *British* towns and people, latinizing them from the original words. Thus LONDINIUM from LUNDEIN^e, i.e. LLONG DIN⁽²⁾ or DINAS, the city of ships^d, from its considerable commerce; DEVA from its situation on the river *Deva*^e; DUNMONII from *Dun-mwyn*,⁽³⁾ or the hill of ore; BRIGANTES from *Brig*, choice or chief men; CORITANI, or rather COITANI,⁽⁴⁾ from *Coed*, a wood^f. On the retreat of their *Roman* masters, the latinized names were dropped, ex-

(1) *Ganganorum Promontorium* would be nearer the pronunciation meant; the name lasted into the *Mabinogi* of *Culhwch* and *Olwen*, as *Pentir Ganion*, or the headland of *Ganion*. J.R.

^e Another derivation, namely, LLYN-DIN, or the city on the lake is given by Mr. *Pennant*, in his *Account of London*, p. 14. Ed.

(2) This *llong* etymology, of course, will not stand, and the explanation of the word has still to be sought. Mr. *Pennant* might have added that the *Romans* thought the name of *Augusta*, which they gave *London*, had for ever superseded that of *Londinium*. J.R.

^d *Cumden*.

^e Or *Dyfi*.

(3) Nothing could be more charming, but I fear that it will not stand; as the name appears to have been *Dumnonii*; and the *Welsh* sometimes spoke of their country as *Dyfnaint*. J.R.

(4) This would be convenient for the etymology, but it never seems to have been their name. J.R.

^f Mr. *Pegge*.

cept in a very few instances, and their own resumed; but the rest of the *Britons*, who submitted to the *Saxon* yoke, universally received with it the names of places from their conquerors.

THE whole of *Flintshire* was subdued by the *Saxons* immediately after the taking of *Chester* by *Egbert*. It was an open country, and, unlike the rest of *North Wales*, destitute of inaccessible rocks and mountains, consequently incapable of defence against so potent an enemy. The conquerors, as usual, new-named the towns, villages, and hamlets: but could not cancel the antient. Thus *Hawarden* still is known to the *Welsh* by the name of *Pennard Lâg*,⁽¹⁾ or *Halawg*; *Mold* by that of *Wyddgryg*; and *Hope* by that of *Estyn*; which (with the continuance of our language to this day) proves that even at that time it mixed but little with that of our conquerors. Numbers of *Saxons* were settled among us, who held their lands from the *Mercian* governors or earls: we find in the *Doomsday book* many of the names of those who had possessions in this tract; such as *Ulbert*, *Osmer*, and *Elmer*.

THE first notice of any subdivision of the tract called *Flintshire*, appears in the *Doomsday book*. When that survey was taken, it was made a part of *Cheshire*, to which it was considered as an appendage, by conquest. Old records affirm, that the county of FLINT appertaineth to the dignity of the

DOOMSDAY
BOOK.

(1) This is now pronounced *Pennar Lâg*. J.R.

sword of CHESTER. It was soon subdued by *Robert de Rothelent*, commander in chief under *Hugh Lupus*, who carried his arms far into *Wales*; and secured his conquests in the marches by building, or rather by adding new works to the castle of *Rhuddland*, which he had wrested from one of our princes.

THE tract from *Chester* to the *Clwyd* was then considered as a hundred of *Cheshire*, and called in the *Doomsday* book *Atiscros* hundred. Numbers of places still existing are mentioned in it, disguised often by the *Norman* spelling. *Whiteford*, the place in question, is called *Widford*; notice is also taken of some of the present townships, such as *Tre-mostyn*, *Tre-bychton*, and *Merton*, under the names of *Mostone*, *Puteccaine*, and *Meretone*. *Mostone* was then a *plough-land*, *terra unius Carucæ*. It had on it four villeyns and eight boors, *bordarii*^g; a wood a league long, and forty perches, *perticatæ*, broad, which was valued at twenty shillings.

WIDFORD is joined with *Puteccaine*: the first seems to have comprehended our present *Tre-lan*, or the place where the church village now stands. These had one *plough-land*, two villeyns, and twelve others between men and maid servants,

^g *Borda* signifies a cottage, with a small piece of land annexed, held by the service of finding for the lord, poultry, eggs, &c., for his *burdd*, or table.

fisheries, and a wood half a mile^h long and forty perches broad; the value was the same with that of *Mostone*.

WITH *Meretone* is joined the third part of *Widford*; and the *Berewicha* or hamlet of *Caldecote*, the last at present a township of the parish of *Holypwell*. In this division was a presbyter, a church, and six villeyns. Here was a wood half a mile long and twenty perches broad. One *Odin* held these of the earl.

AT the time of the conquest, all this tract of *Flintshire*, which was called by the *Saxons*, *Englefield*, and afterwards by the *Normans*, *Atiscros*, was in possession of *Edwin*, the last earl of *Mercia*; and on his defeat and forfeiture, was bestowed, with the earldom of *Chester*, on *Hugh Lupus*. The whole was in a manner depopulated and reduced to a waste, I imagine by the two inroads made into those parts by *Harold*, at the command of *Edward* the confessor, to revenge on *Gryffydd ap Llewelyn* the insult offered him, by giving protection to *Algar*, one of his rebellious subjects.ⁱ

It is observable, that there were only seven churches at that time in the whole hundred:

1. *Haordine*, the present *Hawarden*; 2. *Widford*;
3. *Bissard*, *Boteuuaral*, and *Ruagor*; 4. *Inglecroft*, *Brunfar*, and *Alchene*; 5. *Danfrond*, *Cal-*

^h For an explanation of *leuca*, see *Dugdale's Warwickshire*, I. 46. *Spelman's Gloss.* 355.6.

ⁱ *Powell*, 100.

ston, and *Wesbie*; 6. *Prestetone* and *Ruestoch*; and finally, the 7th at *Roeland*; ⁽¹⁾ besides one that lay waste at *Cancarnacan* and *Whenescol*. Parochial divisions had not yet taken place. Mr. *Agard*^k, a writer in the latter end of the sixteenth century, remarks, that the old historians make no mention of either parishes, parsons, vicars, incumbents, or curates. The people attended in those days, either the cathedral churches, or the conventual; which were served by the prelates or monks, and those often assisted by presbyters, clerks, and deacons. As piety gained strength, other churches, for the conveniency of the devout, were erected by the nobility and men of property, who were desirous of spiritual assistance within their precincts; and to this were owing the churches, which at the period in question, were so sparingly scattered over the land. The places which enjoyed this advantage had the title of *Llan* prefixed; as that of *Tre*, which signifies primitively a habitation, is to the townships.

TRE-MOSTYN.

THUS in the parish of *Whiteford* is *Tre-mostyn*^l, remarkable for the antient seat of the family of the

⁽¹⁾ This is another spelling of the name we had as *Rothelent* and *Rhoddland*, at p. 10. The *th* in the former, and the *dd* in the latter, are both to be pronounced like *th* in the *English* word *this*. J.R.

^k Antiquary Discourses, I. 194.

^l For an ample description of *Mostyn*, and of whatever relates to this and the adjoining parish, the reader is referred to Mr. *Pennant's History of Whiteford and Holywell*, 4to. 1796. Ed.

same name, which acquired it by the marriage of *Jevan Vychan*, of *Pengwern* near *Llangollen*, and of the line of *Tudor Trevor* earl of *Hereford*, with *Angharad*, heiress of *Howel ap Tudor ap Ithel Vychan* of *Mostyn*, in the reign of *Richard II.* *Howel* derived his descent from *Edwyn* lord of *Tegengle*, or *Englefield*. His grandfather *Ithel* was a person of great possessions, at the time of the conquest of the principality, and did homage at *Chester*, in 1301, to *Edward* prince of *Wales*, for his lands at *Northop* and *Mostyn*.

THE great gloomy hall is of very old date, furnished with the high *Dais*, or elevated upper end, and its long table for the lord and his jovial companions; and another on the side, the seat of the inferior partakers of the good cheer. The walls are adorned, in a suitable manner, with antient militia guns, swords, and pikes; with helmets and breast plates; with funereal atchievements; and with a variety of spoils of the chace. A falcon is nailed against the upper end of the room, with two bells hung to each foot. With these incumbrances it flew from its owner, a gentleman in the county of *Angus*, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of *September* 1772, and was killed near this house on the morning of the twenty-sixth. The precise time it reached our country is not known; therefore we are uncertain whether this bird exceeded in swiftness the hawk which flew thirty miles in an

hour in pursuit of a woodcock; or that which made a flight out of *Westphalia* into *Prussia* in a day: instances recorded^m by the learned Sir *Thomas Brown*. The adjacent kitchen is overlooked by a gallery leading to the antient apartments of the lady of the house, at a period when the odours of the pot and spit were thought no ill savours. At one end of the gallery is a great room, remarkable for a singular event. During the time that *Henry* earl of *Richmond* was secretly laying the foundation of the overthrow of the house of *York*, he passed concealed from place to place, in order to form an interest among the *Welsh*, who favoured his cause on account of their respect to his grandfather, *Owen Tudor*, their countryman. While he was at *Mostyn*, a party attached to *Richard* III. arrived there to apprehend him. He was then about to dine; but had just time to leap out of a back window, and make his escape through a hole, which to this day is called *the King's*. *Richard ap Howel*, then lord of *Mostyn*, joined *Henry* at the battle of *Bosworth*, and after the victory, received from the king, in token of gratitude for his preservation, the belt and sword he wore on the day: he also pressed *Richard* greatly to follow him to court; but he nobly answered, like the *Shunamitish* woman, "*I dwell among mine own people.*" The sword and belt were

^m Miscellany Tracts, Tr. V. p. 38.

preserved in the house till within these few years. It is observable, that none of our historians account for a certain period of *Henry's* life, previous to his accession. It is very evident, that he passed the time when he disappeared from *Britany* in *Wales*. Many cotemporary bards, by feigned names, record this part of his life, under those of the LION, the EAGLE, and the like, which were to restore the empire to the *Britons*: for the inspired favourers of the house of *Lancaster* did not dare to deliver their verses in other than terms allegorical, for fear of the reigning prince.

THERE is little more remarkable about the house than what is common to others built at different times. Here are two curious portraits; one of Sir *Roger Mostyn*, knight, with a white beard and locks, in black, with great breeches stuck round the waist-band with points. This piece of magnificence gave rise to a very coarse proverb, applied to inferior people ambitious of acting beyond their station. The other portrait is of his lady, *Mary*, eldest daughter of Sir *John Wynne* of *Gwedir*, baronet. Both are full lengths, dated 1634, and I think painted by *Mytens*.

HERE is another picture, not less remarkable for its ridiculous composition, than for the distinguished person painted in it. A kit-cat length of Sir *Roger Mostyn*, the first baronet; in a strange long flaxen wig, a breast-plate, buff skirts, and an-

tique *Roman* sleeves; a black holding his helmet; his lady reading, with one hand on a scull; and by her husband a lap-dog. This gentleman was the most eminent loyalist of our county: raised a regiment in support of the crown, consisting of fifteen hundred men, in twelve hours timeⁿ, mostly colliers; and garrisoned his house, which, in *September* 1643, was surrendered to the parliamentary forces, with four pieces of cannon and some arms^o.

BUSTS.

THE busts collected in *Italy* deserve mention. That of the elder *Brutus* is particularly fine, as if formed in the instant that the love of his country got the better of paternal affection; when with a steady voice he was delivering to his lictors his *Titus* and *Tiberius*, to receive the reward of their treasons.

A BEAUTIFUL head of a young faun in a *Phrygian* bonnet, on a modern female body.

A FINE head of one of the *Cornelli*. An *Homer*, and an *Hippocrates*. A *Seleucus*, with two wings fastened to an imperial diadem; symbol of dispatch and expedition. Two busts in brown alabaster of a male and female faun, with the *flammeum* on their heads: both are of hideous deformity; but well executed. Here are besides a few small monumental marbles, with inscriptions, from *Narbonne*.

ⁿ *Whitlock*, 78.^o *Whitlock*, 78.

IN the library^p is a most elegant collection of the classics, containing a variety of the most antient and rare editions; a numerous collection of books relating to the *Greek* and *Roman* antiquities, especially those which comprehend the medallie history; a variety of manuscripts, mostly on vellum, and many of them richly illuminated. In a few words, scarcely any private library can boast of so valuable an assemblage; which remain indisputable evidences of the taste and judgment of that excellent man, its accomplished founder, the late Sir THOMAS MOSTYN. The family are besides possessed of other very valuable antiquities; such as the cake of copper found at *Caer-hên*(¹) in *Caernarvonshire*; the *Torques*^q, discovered near *Harlech*; and the silver harp which the family had the power of bestowing on the most skilful minstrel, rythmer, or bard, at the *Eisteddfod*, or assembly held for trials of their several merits. Each of these shall be spoken of in their proper places.

BEFORE I quit the house, I must take notice, that *Thomas ap Richard ap Howel ap Jevan, Vychan*, Lord of *Mostyn*, and his brother *Piers*, founder of the family of *Trelacre*,(²) were the first

^p Hist. of *Whiteford*, &c. p. 72.

(¹) This is now called *Caerhân*. J.R.

^q This very curious antiquity is engraven in a subsequent volume, with an abridged account of it drawn up by my learned countryman *Ilwyd*.

(²) This is now called *Talacrê*. J.R.

who abridged their name; and that on the following occasion. *Rowland Lee*, bishop of *Lichfield*, and president of the marches of *Wales*, in the reign of *Henry VIII.* sat at one of the courts on a *Welsh* cause, and, wearied with the quantity of *aps* in the jury, directed that the panel should assume their last name, or that of their residence; and that *Thomas ap Richard ap Howel ap Jevan Vychan*, should for the future be reduced to the poor dissyllable *Mostyn*; no doubt to the great mortification of many an antient line.

MAEN
ACHWYNFAN

IN the higher part of this township stands the curious cross called MAEN ACHWYNFAN, or *the stone of lamentation*; because penances were often finished before such sacred pillars, and concluded with weeping and the usual marks of contrition: for an example, near *Stafford* stood one called the *weeping cross*, a name analogous to ours. This is of an elegant form and sculpture: it is twelve feet high, two feet four inches broad at the bottom, and ten inches thick. The base is let into another stone: the top is round, and includes, in raised work, the form of a *Greek* cross: beneath, about the middle, is another in the form of *St. Andrew's*; and under that, a naked figure, with a spear in his hand: close to that, on the side of the column, is represented some animal: the rest is covered with very beautiful fret-work, like what may be seen on other pillars of antient date in several



MAEN ACHWYNFAN.

parts of *Great Britain*. I do not presume (after the annotator on *Camden* has given up the point) to attempt a guess at the age, but shall observe, that it must have been previous to the reign of gross superstition among the *Welsh*, otherwise the sculptor would have employed his chizzel in striking out legendary stories, instead of the elegant knots and interlaced work that cover the stone.

THOSE, who suppose it to have been erected in memory of the dead slain in battle on the spot, draw their argument from the number of adjacent *tumuli*, containing human bones, and skulls often marked with mortal wounds; but these earthly sepulchres are of more antient times than the elegant sculpture of this pillar will admit. This likewise (from the crosses) is evidently a Christian monument.⁽¹⁾ The former were only in use in Pagan days.

THERE is likewise, near to it, an antient chapel, GELLI. now a farm-house, called *Gelli*,^r the name of an adjacent tract. This might have relation to the cross: as well as a place for the performance of divine service belonging to the abbot of *Basingwerk*, who had a house at no great distance, in one of our townships still called *Tré-r-abbot*, or the abbot's habitation. This tract (mis-spelt by the *English*,

(1) This sort of cross is supposed to belong to the eleventh century, or thereabouts. J.R.

^r Hist. of *Whiteford*. Pl. xii. 2.

Getely^s), with the wood (at that time on it) was granted by *Edward* I. to the abbot and convent, on the tenth of *November*, at *Westminster*, before the death of our last prince. He also gave him power to grub up the wood, which, by the present nakedness of the place, appears to have been done effectually.

FROM the summit of *Garreg*, a hill in this parish, the traveller may have an august foresight of the lofty tract of *Snordon*, from the crooked *Moel Siabod* at one end, to the towering *Pen-maen-mawr* at the other: of the vast promontory of *Llandudno*, and part of the isle of *Anglesea*, with the great bay of *Llanddulas*, forming an extensive crescent; of the estuaries of the *Dee* and the *Mersey*; and to the north (at times) of the isle of *Man* and the *Cumberland Alps*, the sure presages of bad weather.

TRE-BYCH-
TON.

I WILL descend now to *Tre-Bychton*, another of our maritime townships, where stands my paternal house^t, attended with (what was very frequent in our principality) a summer-house, at a very small distance, and a cellar beneath; used as a retreat for the jolly owners and their friends, to enjoy, remote from the fair, their toasts and noisy merriment. This, and the other lower parts of the parish, are finely wooded with oaks; which grow

^s *Ayliffe's Rotuli Walliæ*, 64, 72, 95.

Hist. of *Whiteford*, p. 27. Frontispiece.

so spontaneously, that, was the place depopulated, it would in a very few years relapse into an impenetrable forest.

IN *Tre-lan* is the parish-churchⁿ, dedicated to TRE-LAN. Saint *Mary*. The rectory is a sinecure, which, with the vicarage, is in the gift of the Bishop of St. *Asaph*. The church, I imagine, retains the antient site it had at the time of the conquest. The present building consists of a nave and one aisle. The last was built by a *Bleddyn Drow*, of the house of *Mostyn*, to whom that part belongs.

THE two *Mertons*, *Uch-glan* and *Is-glan*, are MERTON. adjacent townships. In the reign of *Edward I.* (before his conquest) the lands of the men of *Merton*, to the amount of sixteen plough-lands, were taken from them, and bestowed on the abbot and convent of *Basingwerk*, against the laws of *Wales*, and the custom of the country; and contrary to the peace between the King and Prince *Llewelyn*^s. This violent act was done by *Reginald de Grey*^s, justice of *Chester*, probably by connivance of the King, to provoke the *Welsh* to commit some outrage that would give color to the *English* to break the truce.

IN the township of *Ednowain*(¹), was one of the EDNOWAIN. seats of *Ednowain Bendew*, or *Owen* the strong-

ⁿ Hist. of *Whiteford*, p. 99. Pl. xii. 1. ^s *Powel*, 360.

^s *Dugdale's Baron*. I. 713.

(¹) The name *Ednowain* has nothing to do with *Owen*, nor is it to be divided into *Edn-owain*, but *Ed-nowain*. See also note p. 5. J. R.

headed, lord of *Tegengle* in 1079, and one of the fifteen tribes or nobility of *North Wales*. The *Pierces* of this parish, now extinct, were descended from him: and several other respectable families, mostly extinct at this time, were derived from the same stock. Possibly some account of these tribes may hereafter be given^z.

FOLEBROC.

FOLEBROC, or *Feilebroc*, belonged to the monks of *Basingwerk*, and is mentioned in the confirmation of the grants to that convent by *Henry II.* and again in the charters renewed to it by *Llewelyn ap Iorwerth*, and *David ap Llewelyn*, princes of *North Wales*. The monks had a grange on it, and right of pasturage on the mountain, in common with the neighboring inhabitants^a.

THE products of this parish are corn of every sort, excepting rye. Little cheese or butter is made for sale, as the grass is chiefly consumed by horses; for the farmers are greatly employed in carrying the minerals of the country: the same may be said of the shire in general. Every cottager has his potatoe garden, which is a great support; and was a conveniency unknown fifty years ago. The lower parts are well wooded; and much timber is at times sold to *Liverpool* and other places, at good prices; much is also used at home in the mines.

^z Since published in Mr. *Pennant's History of the Parishes of Whiteford and Holywell*. ED. ^a *Dugdale's Monas.* I. 720, 721.

THE collieries of *Mostyn* and *Bychton* have COAL. been worked for a very considerable time; and in the last^b century supplied *Dublin* and the eastern side of Ireland with coals. They were discovered in the township of *Mostyn*, as early as the time of *Edward I.* as appears by an extent of that place, in the twenty-third year of his reign.^c They are at present but in a low state; partly from the rise of the works at *Whitehaven*, but more from the loss of the channel of the *Dee*; which in the beginning of the century flowed so close to our shore, that ships of two hundred tons lay under this parish, with their cables twisted round the trees.⁽¹⁾ At present, vessels of sixty or seventy tons cannot approach nearer than two miles, the *Dee* now flowing under the opposite shore. Still we load a few vessels for *Ireland* and some parts of *North Wales*. Much is also consumed by the neighboring smelting houses and the inland parts of *Denbighshire*. The improvement of the land by lime has of

^b The reader is requested throughout the whole of this work to consider the *last* century as the seventeenth, the *present* as the eighteenth. To alter the dates would have destroyed the originality it has been the wish of the editor to preserve. ED.

^c *Sebright*, MS.—This valuable collection of manuscripts, which had become the property of Sir W. W. Wynn by purchase, was unfortunately destroyed at a bookbinder's, in the fire which consumed the theatre of *Covent Garden*, in 1808. ED.

⁽¹⁾ The Chester and Holyhead Railway now passes over the very shore where the ships usually were moored, but there still remains a narrow inlet called *Mostyn Quay*, where vessels of 150 to 200 tons burden can discharge their cargoes near the line of rails. w.

late occasioned a great consumption of coal by the farmer, and by the persons who burn it for sale.

THE coal^d is of different thickness, from three quarters to five yards. The beds dip from one yard in four to two in three. They immerge beneath the estuary of the *Dee*; are discovered again on the south side of *Wiral* in *Cheshire*, as if corresponding with some of the *Flintshire*: they remain as yet lost, on the northern part of the same hundred; but are found a third time in vast quantities in *Lancashire*, on the opposite side of the *Mersey*. Their extent from west to east, in this county, may be reckoned from the parish of *Llanasa*, through those of *Whiteford*, *Holywell*, *Flint*, *Nor-thop*, and *Hawarden*. Our coal is of different qualities, suited to the variety of demands of the several sorts of founderies in the neighborhood. Beds of canal are met with; inferior indeed in elegance to those of *Lancashire*, but greatly coveted by the lime-burners. Sometimes is also found the *Peacock-coal* of Doctor *Plot*^e, remarkable for the beauty of its surface, glossed over with the changeable brilliancy of the colors of that beautiful bird.

COALS were known to the *Britons* before the arrival of the *Romans*, who had not even a name for them; yet *Theophrastus*^f describes them very

^d Hist. of *Whiteford*, p. 133. ED. ^e Hist. *Staffordshire*, 126.

^f In his book on stones.

accurately, at least three centuries before the time of *Cæsar*: and even says that they were used by workers in brass. It is highly probable that the *Britons* made use of them. It is certain they had a primitive name for this fossil, that of *Glo*¹; and as a farther proof, I may add, that a flint-ax, the instrument of the *Aborigines* of our island, was discovered stuck in certain veins of coal, exposed to day in *Craig y Parc* in *Monmouthshire*^g; and in such a situation as to render it very accessible to the inexperienced natives, who were incapable of pursuing the veins to any great depths. The artless smelters of antient times made use of wood only in their operations, as we find among the reliques of their hearths, as shall be observed hereafter.

A VERY useful species of ash-colored greasy clay is discovered over one of the beds. It resists the fire remarkably well; and has been used with great success in the mineral smelting furnaces.

BEDS of sandstone and of excellent free-stone FREESTONE. are frequent in the lower parts of the parish, and reach within half a mile of the mountain, when the stratum changes: first to a blackish shale, soon dissoluble by exposure to the air; after that to a whitish limestone, or to a hard chert. Both are found in strata of vast thickness:

(1) I strongly suspect that this word originally meant charcoal. J. R.

^g *Ph. Tr.* No. 335, p. 500.

LIME.

the first is burnt into excellent lime, and is also used as a flux for lead ores. The common sort of houses are built with it; for which it is less proper by reason of its excessive dampness at change of weather.

IN the township of *Tre-Mostyn*, near the shore, is a cliff of a very singular appearance, looking like the semi-vitrified *lava* of a *volcano*. The stratum is in front universally changed in its disposition, and run into a horrible mass of red and black, often porous, but in all parts very hard. In it is a hollow, a vein in which was probably lodged the pyritical matter that took fire, and caused the phænomenon^h. Its fury chiefly raged towards the front, and diminished gradually in the internal part of the bed; which at some distance within land, appears only discolored. The strata are of shale and of sandstone of the common sortⁱ.

CHERT.

CHERT is the *petrosilex* of the later writers. It is of a siliceous nature, and is the only stone that resembles flint in our county. The annotator on

^h Similar to that which occurred at *Charmouth*, Phil. Trans. 1761, vol. 52, p. 119: and which is amply described by the Bishop of *Llandaff*, in his entertaining "Chemical Essays." Ed.

This phenomenon observed by the Author had been caused by the burning of the debris raised from the collieries before his time, either by the spontaneous combustion of the coal dust composing it, or by the fires used in the cabins, &c., while the work was going on. The horrible mass mentioned is visibly a portion of the clay charred by the internal heat of the mass. w.

ⁱ *Da Costa's Fossils*, 133.

Cronstedt justly remarks, that the true flint abounds in chalk, which is an absorbent earth, as chert does in the neighborhood of limestone, which is also calcareous. As yet, this species of stone has not been found of any use. I suspect, that in case it was burnt and ground, it might prove serviceable in making a coarse stone ware^k, as the nodular flints are in making the finer.

THE hilly part of our parish has been for a long succession of years rich in mines of lead and calamine. Some years ago, about seventeen hundred-weight of copper ore was discovered; but none since, notwithstanding it has been diligently searched after. I shall postpone farther enquiry after these and other minerals and fossils of this tract, till I am about to leave the part of *Flintshire* productive of these sources of wealth. I shall here only take notice of a vegetable, rare in other places, which grows on certain parts of the mountain in plenty; and in *May* makes a pretty appearance with its white flowers; this is the *Arenaria verna*, or mountain chickweed. Here is also a scarlet kind of mushroom^l, unnoticed by *Linnaeus*; but described by Mr. *Ray*, p. 18. No. 5 of his Synopsis of *British Plants*. Mr. *Lightfoot* discovered in my woods, in the month of *May*,

ORES.

^k Great quantities of chert, since the publication of this Tour, have been exported to *Staffordshire* for that purpose, and to form stones to grind and comminute calcined flints. Ed.

^l *Peziza epidendra*. *Sowerby's Fungi*. Tab. 13. Ed.

what was supposed to be a variety of the *anemone nemorosa*, Sp. Pl. 762, with the leaves dotted on the back^m, like the fructifications of a polypody, precisely corresponding with the figure of a supposed Fern, recorded in Mr. *Ray's* Synopsis, 124, after No. 24, and fig. I. tab. iii. at p. 128.

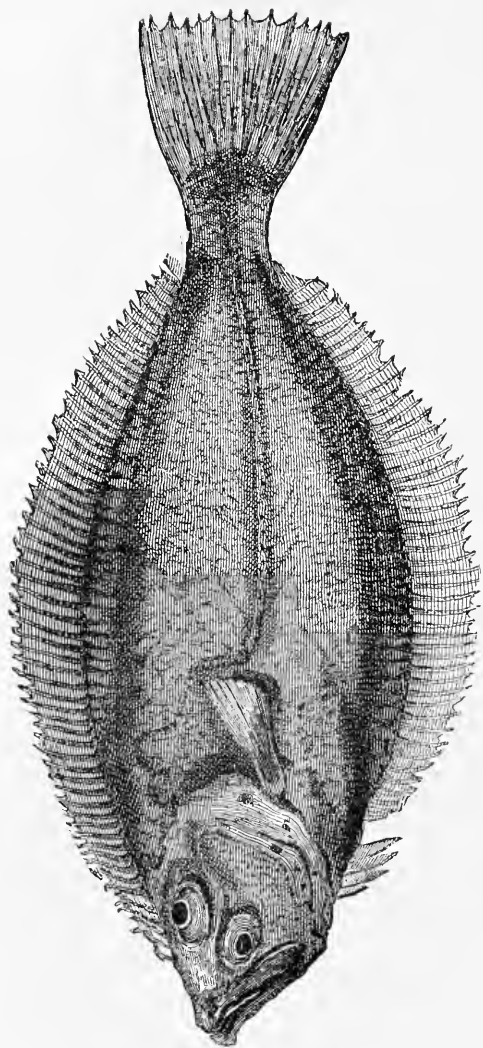
IN my road to the next parish south of this, I follow the shore; and pass by the antient smelting-house of *Llanerch y môr*, which is still in use for fusing of lead ore, and extracting of silver.

THE sea, or the estuary of the *Dee*, lies at a small distance to the left, a verdant marsh intervening. The hundred of *Wiral*, a portion of *Cheshire*, is seen on the other side: a hilly tract, woodless and dreary, chequered with corn-lands and black heaths; yet formerly so well cloathed as to occasion this proverbial distich:

From *Blacon* point to *Hilbree*
A squirrel might leap from tree to tree.

THE view of this branch of the sea terminates on one end with *Chester*, and the rock of *Beeston*; on the other with the two little islands of *Hilbree* or *Ilbre*. On one had been a cell of *Benedictines*, dedicated to our lady, and dependent on *Chester*. This possibly was the hermitage called *Hilburghy*, which, in the second of *Edward* III. received ten shillings a-year from an old charity belonging to the castle at *Chester*ⁿ.

^m The *Æcidium Fuscum*. Ib. Tab. 53. Ed. ⁿ *Tanner*, 63.



WHITE.

THE tides recede here so very far, as to deny us any variety of fish. The species most plentiful are of the flat kind; such as flounders, a few plaice, small soles, and rays. Dabs visit us in *November*; and in the last year was taken that rare species of flounder the *whiff*. The weever is very common here: other species are taken accidentally.

FISH.

HERRINGS in this sea are extremely desultory. At times they appear in vast shoals, even as high as *Chester*; they arrive in the month of *November*, continue till *February*, and are followed by multitudes of small vessels, which enliven the channel. Great quantities are taken and salted; but they are generally shotten and meagre. It is now about ten years since they have paid us a visit.

EXCEPTING the *Caryocatactes* or nut-breaker^o, I do not recollect any very uncommon bird to have visited this parish: one of this species was killed in the garden at *Mostyn* in *October*, 1753. Its native country is *Savoy*, *Switzerland*, *Lorraine*, and some parts of *Germany*. These birds do not regularly migrate, but at a certain period quit their usual habitations; for example, in *October*, 1754, multitudes appeared in *Burgundy*, and other parts of *France*. The one that visited us was probably a strayed bird out of some flock that had quitted its native land. It is a species of some

NUT-BREAKER.

^o *Corvus Caryocatactes*, *Lin. Syst.* 157.—*De Buffon.* III, 122.—*Gesner Av.* 244.—*Scopoli*, 37.—*Kramer*, 334.—*Br. Zool.* II. 531.

beauty, yet without variety or richness of colors ; being spotted with triangular marks of pure white in rusty brown. In size it is somewhat inferior to a jackdaw : the bill very strong, sharp, and fitted for the piercing of trees, which makes it very destructive to timber. It inhabits the vast forests of firs ; from which it has been styled *Pica abietum guttata*. Like the jackdaws, it also nestles in lofty towers ; and like them is very noisy. It feeds on nuts, which it breaks with its bill, on the cones of firs, on acorns, berries, and insects. From the first circumstance, the *Germans* have called it *nussbrecher*, a name adopted in the *British Zoology*.

ON passing a little rill beneath the banks, I enter the parish of

HOLYWELL :

And very soon after cross its noted stream, near its discharge into the estuary of the *Dee*. On the right ascend to the site of the abbey and castle of *Basingwerk*, a place of importance in the wars between the *English* and the *Welsh*. The land towards the sea is steeply sloped. The west side was protected by a deep gully, formed by the river ; the south-east by the vast ditch, which has hitherto been universally supposed to have been that made by *Offa*, king of the *Mercians*. I owe the detection of that mistake to Mr *John Evans*, of *Llwyn y Groes*, who proves it to be one termi-

nation of another stupendous work of the same kind, known by the name of *Wat's ditch*; of which a full account will be given in some of the following pages, with remarks on the mounts, and other works that lie near its course.

VESTIGES of this fortress^p appear in the foundation of a wall on the edge of *Offa's ditch*, and on the road-side, near the turnpike gate, opposite to the ruins. Lord *Lyttelton*^q says that the founder was an earl of *Chester*. I imagine that it must have been *Richard*, son of *Hugh Lupus*, and second earl of *Chester*; and that the abbey was fortified on the following occasion; for even religious institutions had no exemption, *tempore necessitatis belli, licitum est, hospitari et incastellari in ecclesiâ*.^r

BASINGWERK
CASTLE.

ACCORDINGLY, the first notice I find of it is in the life of St. *Werbürg*, by *Bradshaw*; who informs us that *Richard*, on his return out of *Normandy*, where he had been educated, began his reign with an act of piety. He attempted, in 1119, a pilgrimage to the well of St. *Wenefrede*; but either in going or returning, was attacked by the *Welsh*, and obliged to take shelter in *Basingwerk*. He applied to St. *Werbürg* for relief; who miraculously raised certain sands between *Flint-*

^p Hist. of *Whiteford*, p. 192.

^q Hist. *Henry II.* 3rd edit. ii. 383.

^r *Innocentius* de immunitate ecclesiæ, quoted in Coll. Curious Discourses, I. 102.

shire and *Wiral*, and thus gave means to his constable to pass to his assistance : which sands, from that time were called the *Constable's Sands*. *Bradshaw* styles the place of his retreat an abbey ; a proof that here had been a religious community before the time usually assigned for the foundation of this house. I must also draw from Lord *Lytelton's* authority (for I can find no other), that this castle was demolished by the *Welsh* in the reign of *Stephen*^s.

HENRY II. in 1157, after his escape from the ambuscade of *Eulo*, left *Basingwerk* restored, well fortified, and manned^t, in order to secure a retreat on any future disaster. He did the same by the castle of *Rhuddlan*. In his days the inland parts of our county were a dangerous wild of forest. After his defeat he never trusted himself among our woods ; but made his marches along the open shores.

THE same monarch left another species of garrison^u; for he established here a house of knights templars,⁽¹⁾ a military order introduced into *England* in the preceding reign. They were first instituted in the Holy Land for the protection of pilgrims;

^s Hist. *Henry* II.

^t *M. Paris*, 129.

^u *Powel*, 208.

(1) This appears to be a mistake. The writers of a very interesting account of *Basingwerk* in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1846, call in question the authority on which it rests, and their conclusion is that, "if Henry II. founded a House of Templars, it was probably near *Rhuddlan*." *Ib.* p. 105. T.P.

and possibly *Henry* might have the same view in fixing them here, to secure the *English* devotees in performing their vows to our neighboring saint, who seems about this time to have come into reputation. It is singular that these religious knights were allowed at their institution only one horse between two; yet so greatly did they flourish, that about the year 1240, or a hundred and fifty years after their institution, the order had acquired, in different parts of Christendom, nineteen thousand manors.

THIS castle was but of very short duration; for in 1165, the gallant prince *Owen Gwynedd* laid siege to it, took^x and levelled it to the ground; after which the name occurs no more as a fortress. I think at this period it belonged to *Hugh de Bello Campo*, or *Beauchamp*, on whom this and *Rhuddlan* castle had been bestowed by the *English* monarch^y.

THE abbey^z, of which there are considerable remains, was founded in 1131 (according to the opinion of Bishop *Tanner*) by *Randal*, the second earl of *Chester*: according to Bishop *Fleetwood*, by *Henry* II. For my part, I believe it to have been of greater antiquity; but do not pretend to ascertain its origin. No light on the subject can

ABBY.

^x *Powel*, 223.

^y *Annales Waverleiensis*, 159.

^z Called also by the *Welsh*, *Maes-glaz*, or *Greenfield*. Hist. of *Whiteford*, p. 194.

be collected from the charters preserved by Sir *William Dugdale*. There are three of them, either serving to confirm the antient donations, or confer new : in each is mention of the earl as a benefactor ; but there is not the lest hint of his having been the founder. I must attribute that honour to one of the princes of *Wales* ; for both *Llewelyn ap Iorwerth*, and his son *David*, in their respective charters, recite, that they give and confirm the several donations to GOD, St. *Mary*, the monastery of *Basingwerk*, and the monks, which had been bestowed on them by their predecessors for the salvation of their souls.

RANDAL was certainly a great benefactor ; for it appears that before his days the monks had only a chapel here. From that period the abby became considerable ; and about that time part of the present buildings were erected, for the conveniency of its inhabitants, who were of the *Cistercian* order.

THE architecture is mixed. Here appears what is called *Saxon* ; having the round arches and short columns in some parts ; and the *Gothic* narrow slips of high-pointed windows in others. The first species had not fallen out of use, and the last was coming into fashion, in the days of the first great benefactor.

THE church lay on the east side ; but is now totally destroyed. The refectory is pretty entire ;

and on one side has a great recess. Above were the cells for the lodgings of the monks, with a small window to each.

THE chapel of the knights templars⁽¹⁾ is a spacious building. The windows are long, narrow, and pointed; the pilasters between them on the inside slender and elegant.

THERE are some remains of offices, used at present by a tanner. Within less than fifty years, much of the habitable part was standing; and sometimes used by the worthy family, the *Mostyns* of *Trelacre*: a lady now living was born within the walls.

DURING the preparations for the conquest of *Wales* by *Edward I.* the abbey was under the protection of the *English*. There are extant two orders for the purpose, providing that they had no commerce with what are styled the *Welsh* rebels^a. I imagine that the convent was firmly attached to the victor; for I have been informed^b that there are, among the lists of summons in the Tower, writs for calling the abbot to parlement, in the 23d, 24th, 28th, 32d, and 34th of *Edward I.*

¹ "As for the building at *Basingwerk*, called by *Pennant*, *Grose*, &c., the templars chapel, it may be pronounced with tolerable certainty not to have been a chapel at all. It is built north and south, and has no trace of an altar, nor of any of the other adjuncts of Christian worship." *Arch. Camb.* 1846, p. 105. T.P.

^a *Ayloffe's Rotuli Walliæ*, 68, 82.

^b By the kindness of *Samuel Lysons*, Esq. the correctness of this statement has been confirmed. Ed.

By the valuation of its revenues in 1534, the gross sum at the dissolution was, according to *Dugdale*, 150*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*; to *Speed*, 157*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* In 1553, there remained in charge 4*l.* in annuities^c.

THE particular endowments, as I collect from *Dugdale*,^d were these: *Henry* III. by charter, grants and confirms ten *librates* in *Longenedale* in *Derbyshire*, with the church of *Glossope*, and all its appertenances, to be held by them as freely as *William Peverel* held the same in the time of *Henry*, his grandfather. The same charter confirms the donations of *Ranulph*, earl of *Chester*, and other barons, *viz.*, *Holynwell*, *Fulbrook*, the chapel of *Basingwerk*, the antient residence of the monks, with the mills and their appertenances; likewise *Holes*, and the moiety of *Lecche*, and one hundred shillings of the revenues of *Chester*, the gift of the said earl. *Calders* with its inhabitants, and finally, *Kethlenedei*, the gift of *Robert Banastre*.

LLEWELYN AP JORWERTH, prince of *Wales*, and cotemporary with *Henry* III. confirms all the donations of his ancestors; particularly the site of their house, the mill before their gate, and the land before their doors; which last was granted to them by *Ranulphus*, and his brother *Aneas*. The same grant gives them also the land of *Mere-*

^c *Willis's Abbies*, I. 312.

^d *Monasticon*, I. 720, &c.

dydd Wawor in *Holywell*; *Fulbrook*; a community of pasturage on the mountains; *Hanot de le Wech*, and *Creiëgraft*, with all their appertenances. His son and successor *David*, by another charter, confirms the donations of his father, and adds the lands of *Huttred*, brother to *Meredyld Wawor* of *Holywell*; the grange of *Fulbrook*; the church of *Holywell*, and the chapel of *Colsul*; and the land and pasturage of *Gelli*, before granted by his father. He likewise empowers them to buy and sell every thing toll-free in all his territories, for the use of their house; also, the fifth part of the fish taken in his fisheries at *Rhuddlan*; and the tenth of the fish belonging to him in other parts. He confirms to them all the village of *Wenheurn*, with all its inhabitants and appertenances, being the gift of *Howen de Porkenton*, and confirmed by *Helyso*. He at the same time confirms the lands and pasturage in *Pentlin*, the gift of his father.

THIS charter is dated from *Coleshill* in 1240, and is witnessed by *Hugh*, bishop of *St. Asaph*, by his chancellor, the famous *Ednyfed Vychan*, and others.

TANNER^e mentions the tithes of *Blackbrook*, and the wood of *Langdon*; lands in *Chancesworth*; the manor of *West Kirkby* in *Cheshire*; the silver mine near *Basingwerk*; free warren in *Gethli*, *Menegrange*, *Ouregrange*, *Beggerburgh*, and *Holywell*.

^e *Notitia*, 711.

THE abbey also was possessed of the hospital or chapel of *Sponne*, near *Coventry*, which had been originally founded by *Hugh Cereilioc*, earl of *Ches-ter*, who probably bestowed it on these monks^f.

THE revenues of the abbot amounted in the whole, reckoning those arising from the mills, lands, cows, and sheep, to 46*l.* 11*s.*^g.

IN 1540, the house and lands in the neighborhood were granted to *Henry ap Harry*, of the tribe of *Ednowain Bendew*; whose only daughter *Anne*, by her marriage with *William Mostyn*, esquire, of *Trelacre*, conveyed it into that family, in which it now remains.

I CANNOT recover the names of more than two of the abbots. *Thomas ap Dafydd Pennant* presided over the house in the time of *Guttun Owain*, a bard who flourished in the year 1480, and celebrates the hospitality of the abbot, in some verses printed in the collection of Mr *Rhys Jones*. The poet is so liberal of his praise as to say, *That he gave twice the treasure of a king in wine.*

Er bwrw yno, aur Brenin,
Ef a roes, deufwy ar win.

^f *Dugdale's Warwickshire*, I. 197.

^g *Willis's St. Asaph*, 176. In the grant to the abbey of *Basingwerk*, of the lands in the peak of *Derbyshire*, there is a clause, reserving the venison to the king, with the consent of the abbot and convent; for the preservation of which, two foresters were appointed by the king; but the grantees were allowed to kill hares, foxes, and wolves. *Sebright MSS.*

And among his other luxuries, I think he enumerates sugar; which a rich abbot of the fifteenth century might easily indulge himself in, for it had been a great article of commerce in *Sicily* as early as the year 1148.

HE and *Tudor Aled*, another noted bard^h, speak not only of his works of utility; of the water and of the wind mills he erected; of his having enlarged and beautified the abbey; but also compliment him on his prowess in battle. Neither is *Guttun* silent on a subject, pleasing to every *Welsh* ear, the pedigree of his patron, whom he derives from *Edwin*, and from *Rhys Sais*, a direct descendant from *Tudor Trevor*.

HE quitted his profession, and became what is termed in law a *monk deraigne*; and married, about three hundred years ago, *Angharad*, daughter to *Guillim ap Gryffydd ap Guillim*, of the house of *Penrhyn* in *Caernarvonshire*ⁱ. He had by her three sons, the youngest of whom, *Nicholas*, succeeded him in the abbacy, and was the last who filled the place. The remains of a very antient oak, still to be seen near the ruins of the house, is

^h *Sebright MSS.*

ⁱ *Richard Pennant*, lord *Penrhyn*, by a singular fortune, now possesses the seat and estate belonging to the family of this his distant ancestress, by his marriage with his lady, *Anne Susanna* daughter of the late General *Warburton*; who, by her grandmother, is also descended from the house of *Penrhyn*.

Lord *Penrhyn* died in 1808. ED.

called the abbot's, and is supposed to be his contemporary.

ST. WENE-
FREDE'S
WELL.

THE road from hence is remarkably picturesque, along a little valley, bounded on one side by hanging woods, beneath which the stream hurries towards the sea, unless where interrupted by the frequent manufactories. Its origin is discovered at the foot of a steep hill, beneath the town of *Holywell*, or *Treffynnon*, to which it gave the name. The spring boils with vast impetuosity out of a rock; and is received into a beautiful polygonal well, covered with a rich arch supported by pillars. The roof is most exquisitely carved in stone. Immediately over the fountain is the legend of *St. Wenefrede*, on a pendent projection, with the arms of *England* at the bottom. Numbers of fine ribs secure the arch, whose intersections are coupled with sculpture.

SOME are mere works of fancy; grotesque figures of animals: but the rest allude chiefly to the *Stanley* family. This building, and the chapel over it, rose from the piety of that great house, which left these memorials of its benefactions: there are besides some marks of the illustrious donors; for example, the profile of *Margaret*, mother to *Henry VII.*, and that of her husband the earl of *Derby*, cut on the same stone.

THE compliments to the *Stanlies*, are very frequent. The *wolf's* head is the arms of the earls

of *Chester* : it is inclosed in a garter, in respect to Sir *William Stanley*, knight of that order, who had been chamberlain of that city, and justiciary of *North Wales*. The tun with the plant issuing out of it, is a *rebus*, the arms of his wife *Elizabeth Hopton*, allusive to her name. This proves, that the building was erected before 1495, in which year Sir *William* lost his head. The other badges of the same house are the stag's head ; the eagle's leg ; and the three legs, the arms of the isle of *Man*.

WE also find that *Catherine of Arragon*, widow to prince *Arthur*, and afterwards the unfortunate wife of his brother *Henry VIII.* was a benefactress to this building ; at lest her arms appear here : three pomegranates in a shield, surmounted with a crown ; the badge of the house of *Granada*, in memory of the expulsion of the Moors, by her father *Ferdinand*^k. The eagle seems also to belong to her, being one of the supporters of the arms of her family.

OVER one of the lesser arches, on each side of the well, are the dragon and the gre-hound, the supporters of the arms of *England* during the reign of *Henry VII.* and part of that of *Henry VIII.* The first was borne by *Henry VII.* as a badge of the house of *Tudor*, which derived itself from *Cad-*

^k *Sandford's Geneal.* 475.

walader, last king of *Britain*, who bore on his ensign a red dragon. *Henry*, in imitation of him, at the battle of *Bosworth* carried on his standard a red dragon, painted on white and green silk ; which afterwards gave rise to the office of *Rouge-dragon* among the heralds.

ON one side of a wall that supports the roof, was painted the tale of the tutelar saint; at present almost defaced; over it is inscribed, *in honorem Sanctæ Wenefredæ*, V. & M.

IN another wall is an elegant niche, in which stood a statue of the Virgin *Mary*, pulled down, as I have been informed, in the year 1635.

I HAVE also heard there had been another of St. *Wenefrede*. To grace the image on high festivals, it is probable, that *Isabel*, countess of *Warwick*, widow to the great *Richard Beauchamp*, left to St. *Wenefrede*, in 1439, her gown of russet velvet¹.

CHAPEL.

OVER this spring is a chapel, of the same date with the other building: a neat piece of gothic architecture: but in a very ruinous state. This had been a free chapel, in the gift of the bishop, with the reserve of a stipend to the chapter; but the rest of the offerings were to be expended on the chapel. In *Richard III.*'s time, the abbot and convent had from the crown ten marks *yerely*, for

¹ *Dugdale's Warwickshire*, I. 414.

the sustentacione and salarie of a prieste, at the chappelle of St. Wynefride^m. The chapel is the property ofⁿ John Davies esquire of Llanerch.

THE following order, for putting the chapel over the well into possession of a clergyman of the church of *Rome*, was addressed to Sir *Roger Mostyn* baronet, by the queen of *James II*.

SIR ROGER MOSTYN.

IT having pleased the king, by his royall grant, to bestow upon me y^e antient chappell adjoining to *St. Winifride's* well; these are to desire you to give present possession, in my name, of the said chappell, to Mr *Thomas Roberts*, who will deliver this letter into y^r hands. It being also my intention to have the place decently repaired, and put to a good use, I further desire, that you will afford him your favour and protection, that he may not be disturbed in the performance thereof. You may rest assured, that what you do herein, according to my desire, shall be very kindly remembered by

Your good frind,

May y^e 8th, 1687.

MARY: REGINA.

WHITEHALL.

THE well is common; for I find by a decision of the court of chancery, on a law-suit respecting the lordship of *Holywell*, between Sir *John Egerton*.

^m *Harleian MSS.* No. 433, 338.

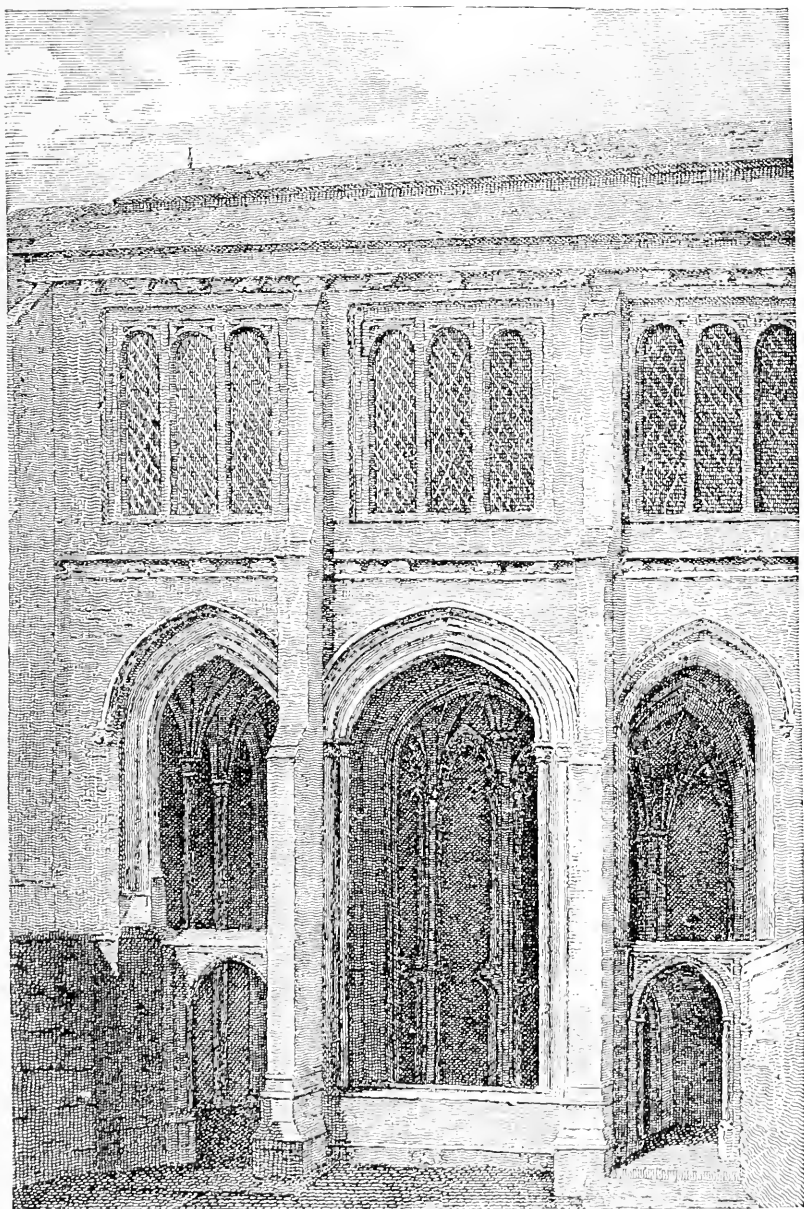
ⁿ Now of Mr. *Leo*. ED.

knight, and *John Eldred*; chancellor *Ellesmere* decrees, "That on calling to mind, that within the
 "said manor there is a fountain or well of antient
 "and worthy memory, he doth not think fit that
 "the petitioner, or any other, should have the
 "property thereof, notwithstanding the general
 "words of the grant of the manor: and therefore
 "his lordship doth order, that notwithstanding
 "the said grant, that the well shall continue as
 "now it is, or heretofore hath been; saving to
 "the petitioner, and his heirs and assigns, the
 "benefit of the stream and watercourse, with the
 "appertainances."

THERE are two different opinions about the origin of this stream. One party makes it miraculous: the other asserts it to be owing only to natural causes. The advocates for the first, deliver their tale thus:

OF SAINT
 WENEFREDE.

IN the seventh century lived a virgin of the name of *Wenefrede*, of noble parents; her father's name was *Thewith*, a potent lord in the parts where *Holywell* now stands; her mother's, *Wenlo*, descended from an antient family in *Montgomeryshire*, and sister to St. *Beuno*. *Beuno* assumed the monastic habit, retired to *Clynnog*, in *Caernarvonshire*, where he built a church and founded a convent. After completing this work of piety, he visited his relations in *Flintshire*, and obtaining from his brother-in-law a little spot at the foot of the hill on



ST WENEFREDE'S WELL & CHAPEL.

which he resided, erected on it a church, and took under his care his niece *Wenefrede*. A neighboring prince of the name of *Cradocus*, son of king *Alen*, was struck with her beauty, and at all events determined to gratify his desires. He made known his passion to the lady; who, affected with horror, attempted to escape. The wretch, enraged at the disappointment, pursued her, drew out his sabre, and cut off her head. *Cradocus* instantly received the reward of his crime: he fell down dead, and the earth opening, swallowed his impious corpse. *Higden*, in his *Polychronicon* adds, that even the descendents of this monster were visited with horrible judgments, to be expiated only by a visit to this well, or to the bones of the saint at *Salop*.

Ad *Basingwerk* fons oritur,
 Qui satis vulgo dicitur.
 Et tantis bullis scaturit
 Quod mox injecta rejicit.
 Tam magnum flumen procreat
 Ut *Cambriæ* sufficiat.
 Ægri qui dant rogamina
 Reportant medicamina.
 Rubro guttatos lapides
 In scatebris reperies

In signum sacri sanguinis,
 Quem VENEFREDE virginis
 Guttur truncatum fuderat.
 Qui scelus hoc patrauerat,
 Ac nati, ac nepotuli
 Latrant ut canum catuli
 Donec sanctæ suffragium
 Poscant ad hunc fonticulum:
 Vel ad urbem *Salopiæ*
 Ubi quiescit hodie.*

THE severed head took its way down the hill, and stopped near the church. The valley, which, from its uncommon dryness, was heretofore called *Sych nant*, now lost its name. A spring of un-

* *Gale's Script.* III. 190.

common size burst from the place where the head rested. The moss on its sides diffused a fragrant smell^p. Her blood spotted the stones, which, like the flowers of *Adonis*, annually commemorate the fact, by assuming colors unknown to them at other times.

Luctus monumenta manebunt
Semper, *Adoni*, mei: repetitaque mortis imago
Annua plangoris peraget simulamina nostri. ⁽¹⁾

For thee, blest maid, my tears, my endless pain
Shall in immortal monuments remain.
The image of thy death each year renew;
And prove my grief, to distant ages, true.

ST. BEUNO took up the head, carried it to the corpse, and, offering up his devotions, joined it nicely to the body, which instantly re-united. The place was visible only by a slender white line encircling the neck, in memory of a miracle, which surpassed far that worked by St. *Dionysius*, who marched in triumph after decapitation, with his head in his hands, from *Montmartre* to St. *Denis*^q, or that of St. *Adelbertus*, who, in like circumstances, swam across the *Vistula*.

To conclude: St. *Wenefrede* survived her decollation fifteen years. She died at *Gwytherin* in

^p Life of St. *Wenefrede*, from which the materials for this part are mostly taken.

⁽¹⁾ Venus continues,—“At emor in florem mutabitur.” *Ovid Met.* x. 728. T.P.

^q Histoire de l'abbaye de St. *Denys*, 76.

Denbighshire, where her bones rested till the reign of king *Stephen*; when, after divine admonition, they were surrendered to the abby of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* at *Shrewsbury*. The memory of the two great events, that of her first death is celebrated on the 22d of *June*: that of her translation the 3d of *November*.

A FRATERNITY and gild was established in honor of our saint at *Shrewsbury*. It had its common seal, which, through the kindness of my friend, Mr *Henry Levingston*, is now in my possession. It is of copper, of the form expressed in the plate. In the centre is a representation of the martyrdom; above is a cross in form of a T, placed between the letters *T. m.* which mark the time when the fraternity was instituted, during the abbacy of *Thomas Mynde*; who was elected in 1459, and died in 1499, a period in which these religious societies were much in fashion. The T or cross refers to the church of *St. Cross* within this monastery. Beneath are probably the arms of the house, a sword and a key, symbols of its tutelar apostles; and round the margin is this inscription:

Sigillū coe Ffraternitat beate Wenefride virginis
ī eccīa scē cruc ī: fra monaster. scī Petri Salopie.

A bell belonging to the church was also christened in honor of her. I cannot learn the names of the gossips, who, as usual, were doubtlessly rich per-

sons. On the ceremony, they all laid hold of the rope; bestowed a name on the bell; and the priest sprinkling it with holy water, baptized it in the name of the Father, &c., &c.^r He then cloathed it with a fine garment: after this the gossips gave a grand feast, and made great presents, which the priest received in behalf of the bell. Thus blessed, it was endowed with great powers; allayed (on being rung) all storms; diverted the thunder-bolt; drove away evil spirits. These consecrated bells were always inscribed. The inscription on that in question ran thus:

*Sancta Wenefreda, Deo hoc commendare memento,
Ut pietate sua, nos servet ab hoste cruento.*

And a little lower was another address:

Protege Prece pia, quos convoco, virgo Maria.

AFTER her death, her sanctity, says her historian, was proved by numberless miracles. The waters were almost as sanative as those of the pool of *Bethesda*: all infirmities incident to the human body met with relief; the votive crutches, the barrows, and other proofs of cures, to this moment remain as evidences pendent over the well. The saint is equally propitious to Protestants and Catholics; for among the offerings are to be found these grateful testimonies from the patients of each religion.

^r *Stavely's Hist. Churches*, 130.

THE Holy Father gave all encouragement to the piety of pilgrims to frequent this fountain. Pope *Martin V.*^s in the reign of *Henry V.* furnished the abby of *Basingwerk* with pardons and indulgences, to sell to the devotees. These were renewed again in the reign of queen *Mary*, by the interest of *Thomas Goldwell* bishop of *St. Asaph*,^t who fled into *Italy* on the accession of *Elizabeth*. Multitudes of offerings flowed in; marks of gratitude from such who had received benefit by the intercession of the virgin.

THE resort of pilgrims of late years to these *Fontanalia* has considerably decreased; the greatest number are from *Lancashire*. In the summer, still a few are to be seen in the water in deep devotion up to their chins for hours, sending up their prayers, or performing a number of evolutions round the polygonal well; or threading the arch between well and well a prescribed number of times. Few people of rank at present honor the fountain with their presence. A crowned head in the seventeenth century dignified the place with a visit. The prince who lost three kingdoms for a mass, payed his respects, on

^s *Selden's* notes on *Michael Drayton*, 289.

^t *Powel's* notes on *Girald. Cambr.* 874. Mr. *Addison* says he saw his picture at *Ravenna*, in the convent of *Theatins*, among the eminent men of that order.

August 29th 1686, to our saint^u; and received as a reward a present of the very shift in which his great grand-mother *Mary Stuart* lost her head^x. The majority of devotees are of the fair sex, attracted hither to commemorate the martyrdom of St. *Wenefrede*, as those of the East did the death of the *Cyprian* favorite,

Whose annual wound in *Lebanon* allured
The *Syrian* damsels to deplore his fate
In woeful ditties all the summer's day:
While smooth *Adonis* from his native rock
Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
Of *Thammuz* yearly wounded.

WE, whose ancestors, between two and three centuries ago, abridged our faith to the mere contents of the Old and New Testament, and to the creed called the *Apostles*, do not think the belief in the above, and other legends, requisite. I refer the reader to the arguments used by the antiquary doctor *Powel*, in his notes on the Itinerary of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and to bishop *Fleetwood's* annotations on the life of the saint, for proofs against the truth of the tale: but with Protestants, and temperate Catholics, it carries with it self-confutation.

^u This prince gave in the course of his progress, as marks of his favour, golden rings, with his hair platted beneath a crystal. I have seen one which he had bestowed on a *Roman Catholic* priest of a neighboring family.

^x The late doctor *Cooper* of *Chester's* MSS.

THE waters are indisputably endowed with every good quality attendant on cold baths; and multitudes have here experienced the good effects that thus result from natural qualities, implanted in the several parts of matter by the divine Providence in order to fulfil his will. Heaven for a short period deigned to convince a dark and obdurate age with a series of miracles; which were delivered down to succeeding times, as incontestible proofs of the reality of the divine mission. Without them, a sufficient ground of trust and reliance upon the Supreme Being has long since been established. Second causes innumerable are dispersed throughout the universe, subordinate to the FIRST. Every element proves to us a medicine or a bane, as suits His unerring dispensation. We cannot want, we cannot have the mediation of poor departed mortals. The supposition would be bestowing on them the attributes of the Deity; omnipresence and omniscience.

SOME eminent botanists of my acquaintance have reduced the sweet moss, and the bloody stains, to mere vegetable productions, far from being peculiar to our fountain. The first is that kind of moss called *Jungermannia asplenoides*^y, Fl. Angl. 509, imperfectly described and figured

^y *Smith, Eng. Bot. tab. 1788. Ed.*

by *Dillenius*, in his history of mosses. This species is also found in another holy well in *Caernarvonshire*, called *Ffynnon Llanddeiniolen*, in a parish of the same name.

THE other is a *Byssus*, likewise odoriferous: common to *Lapland*, and to other countries besides our own. It adheres to stones in form of fine velvet. *Linnæus* calls it *Byssus Jobithus*^z, or the violet-smelling. He says, the stone to which it adheres easily betrays itself by the color, being as if smeared with blood; and if rubbed, yields a smell like violets. *Micheli*, in his *Genera* of plants, mentions the same^a; and *Schwenckfelt* discovered it among the vegetables of *Silesia*. He calls it a *muscus subrubeus*, and informs us, that the smell is grateful to the heart; and that, if put among cloaths, it gives them a good scent, and serves to drive away moths^b. *Linnæus* says^c, that it is of use in eruptive disorders. The *Conferva Gelatinosa*^d, Sp. Pl. 1635. Fl. Scot. ii. 986, is found in the same well^e.

CHURCH. ABOVE the well stands the church, dedicated to St. *Wenefrede*. The parish wakes are celebrated in *November*, the time of her translation. The living, before the dissolution, belonged to the abbey

^z *Sp. Pl.* II. 1638.—*Fl. Lap.* 369. No. 528.—*Fl. Dan.* tab. 899. 2.

^a *Gen.* 210. tab. 89. fig. 3. ^b *Cat. Stirp. &c. Silesiæ*, 382.

^c As quoted by Baron *Haller*, No. 2090.

^d *Smith, Eng. Bot.* Tab. 689. ED. ^e *Hist. of Whiteford*, 237.

of *Basingwerk*; and is a vicarage in the gift of *Jesus College Oxford*, which nominates; and *John Davies* esquire[†] of *Llanerch*, the lay-rector, presents. It was given away by his ancestor, *Robert Davies*, to the college by deed dated 1626, expressing, that as it became vacant, the said *Robert Davies* and his heirs shall freely and *charitatis intuitu, et absque aliqua morosa cunctatione*, present a native of *Wales*, rightfully and canonically nominated by the college.

ABOVE the church is a hill called *Bryn y Castell*, narrow, and very steep on the sides, projecting at the end over the little valley. On this might have stood the castle of *Treffynnon*, or St. *Wenefrede*, built by *Randle III.* earl of *Chester*, in the year 1210[§]. There are not at present any vestiges left.

It is singular, that no mention is made in the *Doomsday* book of either chapel, church, or well; yet townships now of less note are named; such as *Brunford*, *Caldecote*, and others. Notwithstanding bishop *Fleetwood's* opinion, I think the legend of St. *Wenefrede* was known previous to that survey; for the very name of *Holywell* is *Saxon*, probably bestowed on it before the Conquest, on account of the imputed sanctity of the well.

THE spring is certainly one of the finest in

[†] At present — *Leo*, esq. of *Llanerch*. ED. [§] *Powel*, 262.

these kingdoms; and by the two different trials and calculations lately made for my information, is found to fling out about twenty-one tuns of water in a minute. It never freezes. After a violent fall of wet, it becomes discolored by a wheyey tinge.

THE stream formed by this fountain runs with a rapid course to the sea, which it reaches in little more than a mile's distance. The industry of this century hath made its waters of much commercial utility. The principal works on it at this time^h are battering-mills for copper; a wire-mill, coarse paper-mill, snuff-mill, a foundery for brass; and a cotton manufactory is now establishing.

DURING the reign of pilgrimages, nothing but a corn-mill or two, the property of the monks, found employ for this beneficial stream.

THE town was also very inconsiderable till the beginning of this century; the houses few, and those for the most part thatched; the streets unpaved; and the place destitute of a market. The flourishing mines, that for some time were discovered in the neighbourhood, made a great change in the appearance, and introduced the effects of wealth. The town, or rather township,

^h For an account of the augmentation of the manufactories to the year 1796, the reader is referred to the so frequently quoted work, the *Hist. of Whiteford, &c.* p. 201. Ed.

contains somewhat more than two thousand soulsⁱ.

THE monks of *Basingwerk* obtained for it the grant of a fair and a market. The first has been dropped beyond the memory of man. The market was also lost, till it was renewed by letters patent, dated *Jan.* 20th, 1703, granted to Sir *John Egerton*, baronet. The patent also contains a grant of three fairs, *viz.* on the 23d of *April*, the *Tuesday* in *Easter* week, and the 2d of *September*. The market has been the most flourishing in *North Wales*; but the fairs never could be established.

THE situation of the town is pleasant and healthy. On the back is a lofty hill, at times extremely productive of lead ore. Towards the sea is a pretty valley, bounded by woods: the end finishes on one side with the venerable abbey. To such who require the use of a cold-bath, few places are more proper; for besides the excellence of the waters, exceeding good medical assistance, and comfortable accommodations, may be found here; and the mind entertained, and the body exercised, in a variety of beautiful rides and walks.

MY next visit was to *Flint*. I took the lower road, by the shore, blackened with the smoke of

ⁱ In the Census of 1801, the population of the township of *Holywell* is stated at 2518, of the whole parish at 5567. ED.

smelting-houses; and, in the more flourishing times of the collieries, with vast stacks of coal. The last township in *Holywell* parish, on this side, is that of *Coleshill*: which gives name to a hundred, and was so called from its abundance of fossil fuel. This place had at the Conquest four villeyms, two boors, and a *Radman*. This last seems to have been the same with the *Rod* or *Rad-knights*, who, by the tenure of their lands, were bound to ride with or for their lord, as often as his affairs required.

AFTER crossing a small brook, enter the town of FLINT: a place laid out with great regularity; but the streets far from being completed. The removal of the greater and the lesser sessions, and its want of trade, will be farther checks to its improvement. This town gave name to the county, which, with that of *Caernarvon*, *Meirioneth*, and *Anglesey*, composed the four antient shires of *North Wales*, formed by *Edward I.* immediately after the conquest of our principality. I cannot assign any derivation of the word: our country is totally destitute of the fossil usually so called. I can only remark, that it is purely *Saxon*; and, notwithstanding it is not mentioned in the *Doomsday* book, was called so before the Conquest.

THIS place also seems to me to have been the same with what was named *Colsul* or *Coleshill*.

I can find no other site for the chapel of *Colsul*, granted by *David ap Llewelyn* to the abbey of *Basingwerk*. The present *Flint* probably went at this period under both names. There is no trace of any chapel in the neighborhood excepting this; nor any other place of consequence enough to tempt our princes to live at. It was called in the Doomsday book *Coleselt*; and was possessed by *Robert of Rhuddlan*. *Edwin* held it from him, and as a free-man. Here was one hide of land taxable.

THE whole place seems to have been founded in times of danger; and every provision made against an attack from a people recently subdued, and who had submitted reluctantly to a foreign yoke. The town is formed on the the principle of a *Roman* encampment, being rectangular, and surrounded with a vast ditch and two great ramparts, with the four regular *portæ*, as usual with that military nation. I shall hereafter offer a conjecture of the probability of its having been a *Roman* station.

THE public buildings within this precinct are the church, the town-hall, and the jail^k: not one of which is any ornament to this litte capital. The

^k A new gaol was erected in 1785, in the castle yard, after a plan of the ingenious architect, the late Mr. *Joseph Turner*, of *Chester*. The following inscription over the gateway was written by Mr. *Pennant*, whose activity and benevolence materially contributed to the

church, or rather chapel, is dedicated to St. *Mary*; and is a only perpetual curacy under *Northop*. I imagine this to have been the *capella de Colsul*¹, belonging to the abby of *Basingwerk*, mentioned in the charter of *David ap Llewelyn*. *Flint*, in that time, was probably comprehended under the name of *Colsul*.

THE castle now stands on a low free-stone rock that juts into the sands, a little north-east of the town; and was once joined to it by a bridge which led to the outwork, called the *Barbican*; a square tower, with a gateway, now entirely

substitution of the present edifice for the former abode of wretchedness. Ed.

In the

Twenty fifth year of his Majesty Geo: III.

In the Sheriffalty of Sir Thomas Hanmer Bt. this prison was erected instead of the ancient loathsome place of confinement
in pity

to the misery of even the most guilty,
to alleviate the sufferings of lesser offenders,
or of the innocent themselves,
whom the chances

of human life may bring within these walls.

Done at the expence of the County;
aided by the subscriptions of several of the Gentry,
who

in the midst of most distressful days
voluntarily took on themselves part of the burden,
in compassion to such of their countrymen
on whom

Fortune had been less bounteous of her favours.

¹ *Dugdale Monast.* I. 721.

demolished. Within was a court surrounded with a ditch faced with a wall, that joined by means of a drawbridge to the main fortress; whose entrance, for better security, was little more than a postern.

THE castle is a square building, with a large round tower at three of the corners, and a fourth a little disjoined from the other, and much larger than the rest. This is called the *double tower*. It had been joined to the castle by a drawbridge, and is of great thickness. It has a circular gallery beneath, vaulted, with four arched openings into a central area, a little more than twenty-two feet in diameter. In one part, the gallery is suddenly lowered, and goes sloping towards the castle; and then rising upwards, makes a sort of communication with an upper gallery.

THIS was the Keep, or strong part of the castle, and the same that the *French* call *le Donjon*; to which, as *Froissart* informs us, the unfortunate *Richard II.* retired, as the place of greatest security, when he was taken by *Bolingbroke*.

THE channel of the *Dee* at present is at some distance from the walls; but formerly flowed beneath. There are still in some parts rings, to which ships were moored.

THE founder of this castle is uncertain. *Camden* attributes it to *Henry II.* and his noble

historian^m is of the same opinion. After his escape at *Euloe*, it is possible that he might have begun a fortress here for security in future times; that he might have left it incomplete; and that it was finished by *Edward* I. By the complaint of the men of *Flint*, in 1281, it is evident that *Henry* was only the founder of a small fortress on the spot, and that *Edward* greatly enlarged and strengthened it. They complained, “that the noblest and best of the countrie be “injured: for that the king builded the castell “of *Flynt* upon their ground: and the king commanded the justices to give the men as much, “and as good ground, or the price; but they “are spoiled of their lands, and have neither other “lands nor monieⁿ.” The rolls of *Edward*’s reign mention the place several times.

IN the year 1277, there was an order for proclaiming a market and fair to be held at *Flint*; and the same was afterwards done through *Cheshire*, and the cantreds of *Wales*. By a writ preserved by *Rymer*, it appears that *Edward* resided here in that year, about the time of the feast of the assumption.^o

IN 1280, an order was issued for the custody of the gate of the castle of *Flint*. Perhaps this might have been the year in which it was first garrisoned.

^m Lord *Lyttelton*.

ⁿ *Powel*. 36.

^o *Rymer’s Fiedera*, II. 86.

IN 1283, the town received its first charter; was made a free borough, and the mayor sworn faithfully to preserve its liberties. This is dated at *Flint* on the 8th of *September*: it was confirmed again in the 2d and 3d years of *Philip* and *Mary*, and afterwards in the 12th of *William III.*

IN 1283, the burgesses also received a grant from *Edward*, of timber out of the woods of *Northop*, *Ledebroke* the greater and lesser, *Keldreston*, *Wolfynton*, *Weper*, and *Sutton*, in order to smelt their lead ore; and at the same time a right of pasturage in the same woods.

IN 1290, there is an order for superintending the works of this castle, and those of *Rhuddlan* and *Chester*; places of the first importance, on the borders of a new-conquered country^p.

THE first great event that occurs to me respecting this fortress is in the year 1280, when the *Welsh*, wearied with the reiteration of oppression, as a signal of general insurrection, surprised the place^q; at the same time that *David*, brother of *Llewelyn*, took *Hawarden*; and *Rees* the son of *Maelgwyn* (¹), and *Griffith ap Meredeth ap Owen*, seized the castle of *Aberystwyth*^r.

HERE, in 1311, the infatuated son of our con-

^p *Rotuli Wallie*, 98.

^q *Idem*, 76.

(¹) This name is properly spelled *Maelgwn*; it has nothing to do with *gwyn*, white, as *Gildas* wrote it *Maglocunus*. J. R.

^r *Powel*, 337.

queror received from exile his imperious favourite *Piers Gaveston*, who had landed at *Caernarvon* from *Ireland*^s.

FROM this period I find nothing remarkable relating to this fortress, till the year 1335, the 9th of *Edward* III. when appears an order to the Black Prince, as earl of *Chester*, to take in safe custody the castles of *Flint* and *Rhuddlan*, and to furnish them with men and provisions^t. *Edward*, in his 7th year, had by charter granted to his gallant son the castles of *Chester*, *Beeston*, *Rhuddlan*, and *Flint*, and all his lands there; and also the cantred and lands of *Englefield*, with all their appertenances, to have and to hold to him and his heirs, kings of *England*^u.

IN this *dollorous castell*, as *Halle*^x styles it, was deposed the unfortunate monarch *Richard* II. To this place he was inveigled by *Henry Percy*, earl of *Northumberland*, with the assurance that *Bolingbroke* wished no more than to be restored to his own property; and to give to the kingdom a parlement. *Northumberland*, with a small train, first met *Richard* at *Conwy*, then on his return from *Ireland*. The king distrusted the earl, who, to remove all suspicion, went with him to mass, and at the altar took an oath of fidelity. The king fell into the snare; proceeded with the earl for some

^s *Stow*, 214.

^t *Rotulæ Scotia*, 165.

^u *Dodridge* 125.

^x *Int. Fol.* iii.

time, till he perceived, about the precipice of *Penmaen Rhôs*, a large band of soldiers with the *Percy* banners. The king would have then retired; but *Northumberland*, catching hold of his bridle, forcibly directed his course. The poor prince had just time to reproach him with his perjury, telling him, that the God he had sworn upon that morning, would do him justice at the day of judgment^y. He caused the king to dine at *Rhuddlan*, and conveyed him that night to *Flint*. The next morning, he was astonished with the sight of a numerous army, commanded by his rival, in full march along the sands: they soon surrounded the castle. The prince descended from the Keep^z, to meet *Bolingbroke*; who fell on his knees, and for a short time assumed a respectful appearance: but he soon flung off the mask; for, ‘with a high sharpe voyce,’ says Stow, ‘the duke badde bring forth the kings horses; and then two little nagges, not worth forty franks, were brought forth; the king was set on the one, and the earl of *Salisbury* on the other; and thus the duke brought the king from *Flint* to *Chester*, where hee was delivered to the duke of *Glocester*’s sonne, and to the earle of *Arundel*’s sonne, that loved him but a little; for

^y *Carte*, II. 634.

^z This place, in old writers, is called the *Dungeon*, or *Donjon*: according to SKINNER, *Turris munitissima propugnaculi ad ultimum receptum*; but the word being now entirely applied to the miserable hole in which captives are confined, I shall still retain the term *Keep*.

‘ he had put their fathers to death ; who led him
‘ strait to the castle^a.’

IF *Froissart* may be credited, *Richard* did not experience the pang of ingratitude from man alone: by a strange infection, it seized the most faithful of the brute creation; for his very dog deserted him, and fawned on his rival *Bolingbroke*, as if he understood and predicted the misfortunes of his old master. The story is so singular, that I shall relate it in the words of his noble translator Sir *John Bouchier*, lord *Berners*^b; who, speaking of the transactions in *Flint* castle, says,

‘ AND as it was enfourmed me, kyng *Richarde*
‘ had a grayhounde called *Mathe* who alwayes
‘ wayted upon the kyng, and woulde knowe no
‘ man els. For whan so ever the kyng dyd ryde,
‘ he that kepte the greyhounde dyd lette him lose,
‘ and he wolde streyght runne to the kyng and
‘ fawne uppon him, and leape with his fore fete
‘ upon the kynges shoulders. And as the kyng
‘ and the erle of *Derby* talked togyder in the
‘ courte, the grayhounde, who was wont to leape
‘ upon the kyng, left the kyng and came to the
‘ erle of *Derby*, duke of *Lancastre*, and made to
‘ hym the same frendly countinaunce and chere as
‘ he was wonte to do to the kyng. The duke, who
‘ knewe not the grayhounde demaunded of the

^a *Stow's Annals*, 322.

^b Fol. cccxii.

‘ kyng what the grayhounde wolde do. Cosyn,
 ‘ quod the kyng, it is a great good token to you,
 ‘ and an evyll sygne to me. Sir, howe knowe you
 ‘ that, quod the duke? I knowe it well, quod the
 ‘ kyng. The grayhounde maketh you chere this
 ‘ daye as kyng of *Englande*, as ye shalbe, and I
 ‘ shalbe deposed: the grayhounde hath this know-
 ‘ ledge naturallye: therefore take hym to you; he
 ‘ wyll folowe you and forsake mee. The duke un-
 ‘ derstoode well those wordes, and cheryshed the
 ‘ grayhounde, who wolde never after folowe kyng
 ‘ *Richarde*, but folowed the duke of *Lancastre*.’

IN the insurrection of *Owen Glyndwr*, *Henry* prince of *Wales* procured from his father a pardon for several of his tenants in these parts, who took up arms in the cause of our valiant countryman^c.

THERE is another gap in the history of the castle till the troubles of the last century; when this country took an active part in support of royalty. *Flint* castle was garrisoned for the king, after having been repaired at the expence of Sir *Roger Mostyn*, knight, who was appointed governor. In 1643, it was closely besieged by Sir *William Brereton* and Sir *Thomas Middleton*; and was defended by the governor till all provisions, even to horses, failing, he surrendered upon honorable terms.

‘ THIS colonel *Mostyn*,’ says *Whitelock*, ‘ is my

^c *Harleian MSS. No. 2099.*

‘ sister’s son, a gentleman of good parts and mettle;
 ‘ of a very antient family, large possessions, and
 ‘ great interest in that country; so that in twelve
 ‘ hours he raised fifteen hundred men for the king^a.’

I MAY add, that after a long imprisonment in the castle of *Conwy*, towards the conclusion of the war, his circumstances were so reduced, having spent sixty thousand pounds in the service of the crown, that he was obliged to desert his family-seat, and live several years in an ordinary farm-house.

FLINT fell afterwards into the hands of the loyalists; for, under the year 1646, I find in the same historian, that the garrison seemed inclinable to come to a treaty. In *November* of the preceding year, it had received that of *Beeston*; which, after a most gallant defence, capitulated, and was allowed to march with all the honors of war to this place^e. But on the 29th of *August*, *Flint* castle was surrendered to major-general *Mytton*; and in 1647 was, with other *Welsh* castles, dismantled by order of the house, directed to the general for that purpose^f.

ON the restoration, it was resumed by the crown, among its other rights, in which it still continues. The crown governs it by a constable, who is likewise mayor of *Flint*. These offices are at present filled by my friend *Owen Brereton*, esquire^g.

^a *Whitelock*, 76. ^e *Rushworth*, I. part iv. 136.

^f *Idem*, *ibid.* 456. ^g Deceased. ED.

THE town, in conjunction with *Caerwys*, *Rhuddlan*, *Caergwrley*, and *Overton*, sends a member to parliament. The election is made by the inhabitants paying parochial taxes; and the return made by the two bailiffs of *Flint*, appointed by the mayor. The borough land of this town extends over the whole parish, and also the township *Coleshill-fawr*, in the parish of *Holywell*.

THE *Welsh* boroughs and counties received the privilege of representatives by act of parliament of the 27th of *Henry VIII*.

THIS town, with the county, was an appendage to the earldom of *Chester*. The following schedule^a gives us their revenues, as they stood in the 50th year of *Edward III*.

	£	s.	d.
The profits of the manor of <i>Hope</i> and <i>Hopedale</i> ,	63	0	0
of the manor of <i>Eulo</i> , and the coal-mines,	6	0	0
of the office of constable of <i>Rhuddlan</i> , whereof he was accountable,	8	14	0
of the rent of the town of <i>Flint</i> ,	56	0	0
of the town of <i>Coleshill</i> ,	4	7	10
of the town of <i>Cuerwis</i> ,	22	6	8
of <i>Bagherge</i> ,	14	3	4
of <i>Veycoll</i> (<i>Veynoll</i>),	13	6	8
of <i>Rhuddlan</i> ,	72	2	2
of <i>Mostyn</i> ,	15	6	8
of the office of escheator of <i>Englefield</i> ,	56	0	0
The <i>Bloglot</i> of the county of <i>Flint</i> , which consisteth of the profits of the hundred courts within the said county,	72	11	9
The profits of the perquisites of the session of <i>Flint</i> ,	30	0	0
of the escheator of the said county,	8	0	0
Total,	£442	6	1

^a *Dodridge*, p. 129.

ABOUT a mile from the town, on the lower road to *Chester*, stood a cross, whose pedestal I remember, which was called *Atis-cross*, and the land around is still called *Croes-ati*. This probably was a place of note; for, at the Conquest, it gave name to a very considerable hundred, at that time considered as part of *Cheshire*. *Exestan* was another, now given to *Flintshire*; which will be noticed in its place.

THERE is a tradition, that in very old times stood a large town at this place; and it is said the foundations of buildings have been frequently turned up by the plough. But more remarkable are the great quantities of scoria of lead, bits of lead ore, and fragments of melted lead, which have been discovered in several spots here, and along the country, just above the shore, in the adjoining parish of *Northop*. These have of late been found to contain such quantities of lead, as to encourage the washers of ore to farm the spots. In this tract, numbers of tons have been gotten within a small time, especially at *Pentre Ffwrn-dan*, or the *place of the fiery furnace*: a name it was always known by, and which evinces the antiquity of smelting in these parts; but this etymology was never confirmed, till by means of these recent discoveries.

IN page 57 I mentioned my suspicion, that the precinct of *Flint* town once served to inclose a

small *Roman* station: I am confirmed in my opinion, from the multitudes of *Roman* coins, *Fibulae*, and variety of antique instruments, lately discovered by the workmen in the old washes of this and the next parish; which prove that the *Romans* made this their port for exporting the metal, after it was fused from the ore of the adjacent mountains. Here might be placed a small garrison to protect the antient smelters, or to collect the duties, or to receive the tribute of metal. Previous to the settlement of the *Romans* in *Britain*, *Strabo* speaks^h so slightly of our articles of commerce, as to say, they were not worth the expence of one legion and a few horse. He died in the year 25, when our country was scarcely known, except by the attempt of *Cæsar*; but the trade, both in his days, and those of that great geographer, was carried on merely by exchange. The *Britons* worked their own mines of tin and lead; and in return received from the foreign merchants, earthen-ware, salt, and works of brassⁱ.

IN a small time after the *Romans* had carried their arms through our island, they began to apply with vigor to the working of the mines. At first, the ore of lead was got with ease: it offered itself on the surface. In *Spain* and *Gaul*, much labor was required to dig it up; in *Britain* it was

^h Lib. iv. p. 281.

ⁱ *Strabo*, lib. iii. p. 240.

found near the common soil^k; and in such quantities, that in *Pliny's* time (who died in the year 79) there was a law (as there is at present in respect to black lead) limiting the annual produce^l. Chance was the general detector of metallic riches in early times. The gold mines of *Galicia* were discovered by the plough^m: those of *India* by the casting up of hillocks by the pismiresⁿ: the silver mines of *Spain* by the casual burning of a wood^o. Trivial accidents, even to this age, have been the cause of mighty mineral discoveries. The great mine at *Halkin* was discovered by ditching: that at *Llangynnog* in *Montgomeryshire*, by the slip of a woman ascending a hill, and baring the vein with her feet. Many of the works that we suspect to have been *Roman* are very shallow; generally in form of trenches, through which they pursued the veins, which probably were discovered from slight causes; but as ore grew more scarce, and avarice encreased, the pursuit went as deep as the art or powers of the time would permit. *Imus in viscera ejus (Telluris) et in sedes manium opes quærimus*^p. 'We descend into the very 'bowels of the earth; and seek riches even in the 'seat of departed spirits.' The want of gun-

^k *Plinii*, Hist. Nat. xxxiv. c. 17.

^l *Idem*. Ibid.

^m *Justin*. lib. xlv. c. 3.

ⁿ *Strabo*, lib. xv. p. 1000.

^o *Diod. Siculus*, lib. v. c. 2.

^p *Plinii*, lib. xxxiii. Proemium.

powder in early times was a great impediment. Instead, we find that great fires were used; the rock intensely heated, and cracks formed in it by the sudden infusion of water; *Pliny* says of vinegar^a. The wedge or pick-ax^r was then insinuated into the apertures, and the stone or the ore forced out. Miners often discover the marks of fire in antient mines. I am in possession of a little wedge, five inches and a quarter long, presented to me by the late Mr. *Smedley*, of *Bagillt Hall*, discovered in working the deep fissures of *Talar Goch* rock, in the parish of *Diserth*, in this county. This little instrument affords a proof of its antiquity, by being almost entirely incrustated with lead ore. It had probably lain in the course of some subterraneous stream, which had brought along with it the leaden particles, and deposited them on the iron.

PICK-AXES of an uncommon bulk, and very clumsy, have been discovered in the bottom of the mineral trenches. These seem to have been the same with the *Fractaria* of the *Romans*, used by the miners in the gold mines^s of *Spain*. Buckets of singular construction, and other things of uses unknown at present, have been found among the antient mines.

IN many respects the antient methods of mining were similar to those in present use. The la-

^a Lib. xxxiii. c. 4.

^r Ibid.

^s Ibid.

borers worked by stems, relieving each other at stated times. They worked night and day, by the light of lamps. They drove levels, and sunk shafts, propping up the ground as they went on. They pursued the veins by forming drifts^t; and finally, whenever the mines were molested with water, they had pumps, which raised it from the greatest depths they arrived at^u.

DIVINING
ROD.

I HAVE mentioned above, the casual detection of our mineral wealth. It will perhaps amuse the reader, by informing him that in this county, within my memory, recourse was had to the *virgula divinatoria*, or divining rod; which, by powers sympathetic with the latent ore, was to save the usual expences of search, and to point out the very spot where the treasures lay. A foreign adventurer, half knave half enthusiast, made the trial; but it proved as unfortunately unsuccessful to himself, as to his admirers. The instrument of the attempt was no more than a rod forked at one end, ‘to be cut in a planetary hour on SATURN’s day and hour; because SATURN is the significator of lead.’ *Jupiter, Venus, Sol, and Mercury*, were also concerned in the time of the operation. ‘*Jupiter*, or ‘*Pars Fortunæ*, was to be in *Conjunction Sextile*, or *Trine* to the LORD of the ascendent or second; and the better, if any reception happen; but BE-

^t *Pliny*, lib. xxxiii. c. 4. ^u *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. v. c. 2.

‘WARE it be not by *Square* or *Opposition*; for ‘that spoils all’².’ Thus cut, it is laid by for use on a heap of wheat or barley; and from the rod of *Moses*, was also profanely called the *Mosaical* rod. This was to be held by the forks in both hands; and carried over the grounds suspected to contain the ore. It went unaffected over all the barren spots; but no sooner did it impend over a vein, than it pressed strongly down, and seemed to feel the same attraction as exists between iron and the magnet. The sensible *Agricola* speaks of this practice incidentally; and gives a long account of the process; but places no kind of faith in it, assuring us, that the skilful miner should follow the natural signs of the mineral veins, and despise the use of these enchanted sticks. He traces their origin from imposture. The magicians of *Pharaoh* made use of wands in their deception of the serpents: *Minerva*, by virtue of a wand, turned the aged *Ulysses* into a young man; and again to his former state: *Circe*, by the magical powers of a rod, changed his companions into beasts: And lastly, *Mercury*, by the same means, impelled the watchful to sleep, and the sleepy to wake³. Let me now return to realities!

THE miners, in the earlier times of the *Romans* in *Britain*, seem to have been the subdued natives.

² Hooson’s Miner’s Dictionary, article *virgula divinatoria*.

³ *Agricola, de Re Metallica*, lib. ii. pp. 26, 27.

Galcagus encourages his soldiers to conquer or die, by laying before them the dreadful consequences of a defeat: *Tributa et METALLA, et ceteræ servientium pænæ*. 'Tributes and mines, 'and all the dire penalties of slavery.' *Agricola* himself verifies the prophetic spirit of our brave chieftain, by calling our mines the reward of victory. These were to be worked, not by the conquerors, but by condemned criminals, by slaves^z, and *Britons* newly subjugated. It is probable, that when the island was entirely settled, this badge of slavery was taken away, and the miners were, as before the arrival of the *Romans*, voluntary laborers.

ROMAN PIGS
OF LEAD.

WHEN the ore was got^a, it was cleansed in a

^z *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. v. c. 2, gives a melancholy account of these slaves; whose state can only be paralleled by the poor *Indians* in the mines of *Potosi*.

^a A learned and ingenious friend has favoured me with the following concise though comprehensive observations on the metallurgy of the antients.

"The antients have left us very imperfect accounts of their metallurgical processes, which we have reason to conclude were very rude and imperfect, when compared with those of modern times. We may form no incompetent judgment of their skill from the following data:

"They were acquainted with the use of bellows, but these were worked with hand and not by water, consequently the whole process of smelting must have been slow and expensive.

"They appear to have known the process of amalgamation, but not to have applied it to the extraction of the nobler metals. Nor were they acquainted with the art of separating their gold and sil-

rude way, smelted in a furnace^b, and cast into forms very nearly resembling the common pigs of lead.

OF such, I have seen three, found in different parts of *Britain*: the one discovered in *Hints* common, in the manor of *Ralph Floyer*, esquire, in the county of *Stafford*, in the year 1771, at the depth of four feet under ground. Its length is twenty-two inches and a half; the weight a hundred and fifty-two pounds, about two pounds heavier than our common pigs of lead. On the upper surface is a rim; within that, in raised capitals, struck when the metal was hot, is this inscription:

IMP. × .VESP + VII × T × IMP × V × COS.

or *Imperatore VESPASIANO Septimùm Tito Imperatore quintùm Consule*: which answers to the year 75 or 76. On one side is the word DECEA, and at a distance the letter G. An ingenious anonymous writer, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1772, conjectures it to have been a C, made by

“ ver *via humida*. And there is reason to suppose that they knew
“ very little of the art of *assaying*, without which no certain rules
“ can be laid down for mixing the ores, calcining them, adding the
“ proper fluxes, and regulating the fire.

“ Their slags are invariably found to contain a large proportion of
“ metal. *Pliny's* avowal (lib. xxxiv. c. 2) of their utter ignorance of
“ the composition of the famous Corinthian brass, or bronze, plainly
“ denotes their inability in the art of assaying.” Ed.

^b *Plinii* lib. xxxiv. c. 16.

the superintendant of the mine, or furnace, to shew either that the pig had paid duty, or was of due weight, or of proper purity. For my part, I am of opinion, that DECEA had once between it and the letter G, the letter N; which will render it DECEANG, or *de Ceangis*, the place which produced the ore; but by some accident that letter was defaced, and the G left seemingly unconnected. This explanation will fling light on certain pieces of lead described by *Camden*, to be taken notice of a few lines lower.

THIS curious antiquity is in the cabinet of Mr. *Green*,⁽¹⁾ apothecary in *Litchfield*; whose collection merits the attention of the inquisitive traveller; who may be assured of the most liberal reception from the worthy owner^c.

IN 1731, two pigs of lead of the same kind, and of the same length, were discovered on *Hayshaw* moor, in the manor of *Dacre*, in the west riding of *Yorkshire*, on the estate of Sir *John Ingleby* of *Ripley*. One is preserved by the family: the other was presented to the *British Museum*. These also have an imperial inscription on the top; *Imperatore CÆSARE DOMITIANO AUGUSTO Consule Septimum*. This was cast in the year 87, and under

(1) Mr. *Green* and his museum are described by *Boswell* (in 1776.)
T.P.

^c Mr. *Green* died in 1793; his cabinet was dispersed after his decease. ED.

the same regulation. The other pig which I saw at *Ripley Hall*, has the same inscription; and on one side the word *Brig*,⁽¹⁾ signifying that it came from the country of the *Brigantes*^a.

In the time of *Camden*, twenty pices of lead, similar to the above, were found near *Halton* in *Cheshire*; some inscribed, IMP. DOMIT. AUG. C. DE CEANG.; other, IMP. VESP. VII. T. IMP. V. COSS. These have been supposed to commemorate a victory over the *Cangi*; but it is evident that they were nothing more than pigs of lead brought here for use, or for transportation: and I am farther satisfied, that the ore which produced this lead was dug and smelted, either in that part of *Flintshire* antiently called *Tegangle*, or the summer's residence of the *Cangi*, or *Ceangi*; or from the residence of the same order of people either in *Derbyshire*, or some neighboring county. This gives reason to suspect, that these *Cangi*, during their long vacant time, might sometimes engage in mineral concerns; and then the ore, when smelted, might receive the mark of the people from whom it was received. The pig of lead in Mr. *Green's* cabinet, certainly came from the *Cangi* of *Derbyshire*.

(1) Looking at the specimen from the country of the *Brigantes*, one is led to suppose that the name of the other people began with DECEANG, and that the legend is not to be divided into *De Ceang*; if so, we have here another form of the *Decangi* of *Tacitus*. J. R.

^a Vide tab. VI.

FROM the regulation mentioned by *Pliny*, and from all these imperial inscriptions, it is clear, that the public took the mineral concerns into its own hands; and had its stamp-masters in proper places. I cannot pretend to fix the period of the first establishment. If the inscription to *Claudius*^e, on a mass of lead found in *Henry VIII.*'s time, near *Wokey-Hole* in *Somersetshire*, be of the same kind with the former, it must have been within the year 49, the time of his ninth tribuneship.

THE *Romans* found such a supply of silver in the *Spanish* mines, that for some time they never thought it worth their labor to extract it from lead^f.

THE *British* name of lead is lost. The only word we have to express an ore is *mwyn*; but the species is expressed by an adjunct, as *mwyn aur*, gold, *mwyn plwm*, lead ore; both which were probably derived from the *Latin*. The *Romans* made use of the word *metallum* to express ore, as well as the metal fused from it: the word *minera* is a word of a barbarous age, and probably derived from our *mwyn*.

THE ruder *Britons*, before their conquest by the *Romans*, had a very simple process of smelting. They placed the ore in a hole in the ground, and mixed it with wood; which being fired, proved suf-

^e *Camden*, I. 83.—*Horsely*, 328.

^f *Strabo*, lib. iii. p. 198.

ficient to melt the lead out of the soft and kindly ores of this country ; a small gutter communicated with a second hole, into which the metal ran from the first. These artless slag-hearths are very frequent in the dingles of our county, and are discovered by the quantity of *scoria* mixed with charcoal. Some of our modern smelters have endeavoured to extract the remaining part of the metal from these slags, but in vain ; the antient smelters having succeeded so effectually as not to have left behind sufficient to pay the expences of a second operation : the most that could be procured from a ton of slags, amounting only to about a hundred and fifty pounds weight.

I CANNOT tell what use the *Britons* made of the metal, excepting as an article of commerce. I must not dare to assent to the tale of the venerable *Bede*^g, who says, that the stakes driven into the *Thames*, to obstruct the passage of *Cæsar*, were wrapped round with lead. The project was useless. This expedient of the *Britons* was temporary ; the stakes did not require such a covering to preserve them ; and the metal of lead was surely very improper to point them with.

I AM of opinion, that there has been in our country a succession of founderies of lead, from the time of the *Romans* to the present, at every

^g Lib. i. c. 2. p. 42.

period in which the civil commotions would permit them to be carried on. That the *Saxons* worked the *British* mines as well as the *Romans*, appears from the frequent use made of lead in all works of ecclesiastical magnificence. The cathedral of *Lindisfarn*^h was roofed with lead by its bishop *Eadberct*, about the year 652; that of *York* was covered with the same metal by its great prelate *Wilfrid*ⁱ in 669; and after that, *Egelric*, who was elected abbot of *Crowland* in 975, roofed the infirmary and chapel of that famous abbey in a similar manner^k. I mention these circumstances merely to shew, that the *Saxons* continued the business of smelting in the different parts of our island. We are assured that there have been, at different times, smelting-works for a century or two past in the parishes of *Flint* and *Hawarden*; and at present there is one in use in each of them.

I SHALL take this opportunity of mentioning incidentally the other minerals of *Great Britain*, taken notice of by the antients, either as articles of trade or matters of curiosity.

TIN.

TIN was not only the first metal in these islands which we read of; but also the greatest object of commerce; and which originally led to the dis-

^h *Bede*, Hist. lib. iii. c. 25, p. 131.

ⁱ *Eddii Vit. Wilfridi*, in *Gale*, iii. 59.

^k *Ingulphi Hist.* apud *Camdeni Script.* post *Bedam*, 888.

covery of *Great Britain* by the *Romans*. The mercantile *Phœnicians* traded to the *Scilly* islands, the *Cassiterides*, or land of tin, from the port of *Cadiz*, four hundred years before CHRIST. The *Romans*, for a considerable time, could not discover the place from whence the former procured the precious metal. They attempted to detect the trade, by following the course of a *Phœnician* vessel; but the master, faithful to the interest of his country, voluntarily run his ship ashore in another place; preferring the loss of all, rather than suffer a foreign nation to become partakers of so profitable a secret. The public immediately compensated his loss out of its treasury. This did but make the *Romans* more eager for the discovery; and after many trials they succeeded. *Publius Crassus* (father of *Marcus Crassus* the *Triumvir*) who was prætor, and governed *Spain* for several years, landed in the *Cassiterides*, and found the report of their riches verified¹.

As soon as the *Romans* made a conquest of the country, they formed in the tin province camps and roads, still visible; and left behind vases, urns, sepulchres, and money, that exhibit daily proofs of their having been a stationary people in those parts^m; and that *Dunmonium* extended even to the *Belerian* promontory, or the Land's-end;

¹ *Strabo*, lib. iii. p. 240.

^m *Borlase, Antiq. Cornwall*, p. 278 to 309.

and was not, as some writers imagine, limited by the western parts of *Somersetshire*. It is not to be imagined, that they could neglect a corner of our island, productive of a metal so useful in mechanics as tin, and which it yielded in such plenty, as to receive from that circumstance the name. So great was the intercourse that foreign nations had with the inhabitants bordering on *Belerium*, as to give them a greater *sçavoir vivre*, and more extensive hospitality, than was to be found in other parts of the island. They were equally expert in working the mines, and preparing the ore, which lay in earthy veins within the rocky strata. They melted and purified it, then cast it into rows of cubes, and carried it to *Ictis*, the modern *Mount St. Michael*: from thence it was transported into *Gaul*; conveyed from the place it was landed at, on horses' backs, a journey of thirty days, to the mouth of the *Rhone*, and also to the *Massylians*, and the town of *Narbonne*ⁿ.

COPPER. DID not *Cæsar* and *Strabo* agree in their account, I should never have believed it possible that the *Britons* could have neglected their rich mines of copper, and have been obliged at first to import that metal. Perhaps the ore was less accessible, and the art of fusion unknown; for islands, from their very situation, must remain

ⁿ *Diodorus Siculus*, ed. *Wechel*, 1604, pp. 209, 218.

longer ignorant of arts than continents; especially ours, which lay far to the west of the origin of all science.

STRABO says, that the *Britons* imported works of brass; but it is as certain, that they afterwards did themselves fabricate that metal into instruments. The *Celts*, a *British* instrument, was made in this island. Numbers have been found in *Yorkshire* and *Essex*^o, together with cinders, and lumps of melted metal; which evince the place of a forge. The *Romans* had their founderies of copper in our island; and cast the metal into regular forms. A mass was found at *Cærhên*, the antient *Conovium*, four miles above *Conwy*, which probably was smelted from the ore of the *Snowdon* hills; where of late years much has been raised. This mass is in shape of a cake of beeswax; and on the upper part is a deep concave impression, with the words SOCIO ROMÆ; across these is impressed obliquely, in lesser letters, *Natsol*. I cannot explain it, unless *Nat.* stands for *Natio*, the people who paid this species of tribute; and *sol.* for *solvit*, that being the stamp-master's mark. These cakes might be bought up by a merchant resident in *Britain*, and consigned SOCIO ROMÆ, to his partner at *Rome*. The weight of this antiquity is forty-two pounds; the

^o *Borlase, Antiq.* 256, 266.

diameter of the upper part eleven inches; the thickness in the middle two and three quarters^p.

CALAMINE.

CALAMINE, the *Cadmia* of *Pliny*^a, and the stone-*Cadmia* of *Strabo*^r, abounds in the mineral parts of this island. The *Romans* knew its uses in making of brass; therefore cannot be supposed to have overlooked so necessary an ingredient. The remains of the brass founderies, discovered in our kingdom, shew, that they were acquainted with it. The knowledge of this mineral in after-ages was long lost. Before the reign of *Elizabeth*, much was imported from *Sweden*; but at that period it was discovered again in the *Mendip* hills; and, fortunately, at the same time that the working of the copper mines in those of *Cumberland* was renewed. Our county abounds with it; but, till within these sixty years, we were so ignorant of its value, as to mend our roads with it.

IRON.

CÆSAR and *Strabo*^s allow that we had iron. The first says it was rare; for bits of it passed for money by weight. In *Strabo*'s days it appears to have been in greater plenty; for he mentions it among the articles of exportation. Immense beds of iron-cinders are to this day found in the forest of *Dean*, the reliques of the *Romans*; others in

^p Tab. VI. This curious antiquity is preserved at *Mostyn*.

^a Lib. xxxiv. c. 10.

^r Lib. iii. 224.

^s *Cæsar* Com. Bell. Gall. Lib. v. c. xii. *Strabo*, lib. iv. p. 279.

Monmouthshire; another was discovered near *Miskin*, the seat of *William Basset, Esq.* beneath which were found a coin of *Antoninus Pius*, and a piece of earthen-ware^t; and finally, others in *Yorkshire*ⁿ, also accompanied with coins: all which evince the frequency of iron-founderies during the period of the *Roman* reign in *Britain*.⁽¹⁾ These cinders are not half exhausted of their metal; for the *Romans* knew only the weak powers of the foot-blast. They are now worked over again, and yield a more kindly metal than what is produced from the ore. These beds are supposed to be almost inexhaustible; a proof of the vast founderies of early times.

GOLD and silver are enumerated^x among the GOLD. products of *Great Britain*. The *Romans* were acquainted with this; and our precious metals proved another incentive to their ambition to effect our conquest. *Agricola*, in his oration to his soldiers before the battle of the *Grampian* mountain, excites them to victory, by reminding them of our riches, the reward of valor. *Fert* BRITAN-

^t *Archæolog.* ii. 14.

ⁿ *Yarranton's Improvements*, 57.—*Leland, Itin.* i. 144, vi. 102. *Canden*, ii. 722.

⁽¹⁾ *Pennant* makes no allusion, it will be noticed, to the Wealds of *Sussex* and *Kent*, the only district where *Cæsar* seems to have known of iron in *Britain*, and where it was worked to comparatively late times. J. R.

^x *Strabo*, lib. iv. p. 279.

NIA *aurum et argentum, et alia metalla pretium victoriæ*^y.

THESE metals have, in later times, been got in quantities sufficient to prove, that they might, at an earlier period, have been an object worthy of conquest. In the reigns of *James IV.* and *V.* vast wealth was procured in the *Lead Hills*, from the gold collected from the sand washed from the mountain. In the reign of the latter, not less than to the value of three hundred thousand pounds *sterling*. In another place, a piece of thirty ounces weight was found. Much also was obtained in the time of the Regent *Morton*^z. The search is now given over; but bits are still found accidentally. Lord *Hopton*, owner of the *Lead Hills*, is in possession of a specimen that weighs an ounce and a half⁽¹⁾.

GOLD is to this day found in *Cornwall*, mixed with tin and other substances^a. The largest piece that has been yet discovered, is equal in weight to three guineas. It is probable that it was the *Cornish* gold which proved the lure to the *Romans*; for it was impossible they or the *Phœni-*

^y *Vita Agr.*

^z *Tour in Scotland*, ii. 130, iii. 414.

(1) One of the most productive gold mines in old times may be supposed to have been Ogofau near Dolau Cothi in Carmarthenshire, where extensive traces of the mining are still well known; and gold mining has been carried on lately in the neighbourhood of Dolgelley.
J.R.

^a *Borlase, Nat. Hist. Cornwall*, 213, 214.

cians could be ignorant of it, who had such long commerce with the country, and who were acquainted with the manner of obtaining it in other places. *Pliny*, speaking of tin, says, that there is found in the gold mines of *Spain* and *Portugal*, a sort called *Elutia*^b (which a *Cornish* man would call *stream tin*), being washed from the vein by water, and gathered up in baskets along with the gold^c.

STRABO and *Tacitus* agree, that we had mines of silver. In the reigns of *Edward* I. and III. there were very considerable works at *Combmartin* in *Devonshire*^d: three hundred and thirty-seven miners sent for out of *Derbyshire*, were employed in them; and the produce was so great as to assist *Edward* the Third to carry on the war with *France*. In the beginning of this century, much native silver was found on the estate of Sir *John Erskine*, in the county of *Stirling*; but the vein was soon exhausted. SILVER.

THE BRITONS were acquainted with the uses of gold and the art of coining before the arrival of the *Romans*; witness the golden sickles of the *Druids*, the coins found at *Carnbre* in *Cornwall*,

^b Alluvial. ED.

^c Lib. xxxiv. c. 16. To prevent antiquaries being further misled about the *Amphill* gold mine, I must inform them, that it proved only a bed of *mica aurea*; or, to speak like a punster, turned out nothing but *talc*. ^d *Camden*, i. 47.

and the coins of *Cassivelaunus*⁽¹⁾. They made use of different sorts of metals for the purpose of coining; but chiefly gold, as being the easiest fused, and most capable of an impression. Doctor *Borlase* has preserved a series of these very early coins, from the rudest and most unintelligible impressions, to the period when the *Britons* made an attempt to form a face on their coins. All these are unlettered; a proof of their antiquity, and of their having been struck before their intercourse with the *Romans*. The first we know of, which is inscribed, is that of *Caissvelaunus*, cotemporary with *Cæsar*. The next is of *Cunobeline*, who had even been at *Rome*. As soon as the *Britons* became acquainted with the *Romans*, they made an essay to imitate their manner of coining; they put letters on them, elephants, and gryphons; things they were before unacquainted with. They were not suffered to make any progress in the art; for as soon as their conquest was effected, their coin was suppressed. The learned have endeavoured

(1) The gold sickles do not seem to have had anything to do with coins, and they belonged to the Druids of Gaul, not Britain; and as to *Cassivellaunus*, his name is not known on any coin. The coins of the Britons, like those of the Gauls, were imitations of money current among the Greeks of Marseilles, and more especially the gold stater of Philip II. of Macedon. It is remarkable that the *Dumnonii* and the people of the tin country had no coins of their own minting. The work to be consulted on the subject is Evans's 'Coins of the Ancient Britons.' J.R.

to trace these antient monies from the *Phœnicians*; but the comparison would not hold. The *Gauls* alone had some pieces similar: nor is this to be wondered at, since they and the *Britons* had a common origin, were neighbors, and might as well agree in the few arts they had, as in religion and language^e.

I now return to the subjects which occasioned this digression; and to give some account of the various antique instruments and coins found near *Flint*; and accompany the same by the more expressive description, a print.

N^o 1. tab. v. is a rich ornament of gold, in form of a button with a shank. It is composed elegantly with twisted wire, and studded with little globular bits of solid gold. This seems to have belonged to the bracelet or necklace (it is uncertain which), whose fragment is represented at N^o 2. This is also composed of gold links, with round beads of a rich blue glass placed between every second link. Something similar to this is preserved by count *Caylus*, which is entire, and appears to have been a necklace^f.

N^o 3. is a cylindric fragment of glass, probably part of some ornament, being of a rich blue color, and perforated as if it was designed to be strung. With it was found a thick piece of sea-green glass,

^e *Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall*, 242. tab. xix.

^f *Tem.* iii. 312, tab. lxxxv.

part of a vase. Glass was among the earlier imports into *Britain*^g, when the wild natives were as much captivated with toys as the *Indians* of new-discovered countries are at present. At first they received these, and all their other vitreous commodities, by means of the *Phœnicians*, whose capital, *Tyre*, was pre-eminent in that manufacture. The *glain nadroedd*, or snake-gems, were at first obtained by way of exchange for the *British* exports. They were originally made by the *Britons* of stone. I have such a one in my cabinet. I have seen another in possession of the Reverend *Hugh Davies*, found in *Anglesea*. The traders soon learned to imitate what was prized so highly in our island, in a more elegant material; and imported them as a most captivating article of commerce; in the same manner as circumnavigators often mimic, in shewy brass, the utensils and weapons of *Indian* nations, in order to engage their friendship.

N^o 4. is a small brazen head, with the back part affixed to iron. Perhaps this was one of the *Sigillaria*, or little images sold at the fairs, and presented usually to children^h: the fairs where these toys were sold went by the same name. A learned friend also supposes these to

^g *Strabo*, lib. iv. p. 281.

^h Non cognoscis me? ego sum *Felicio*, cui solebas sigillaria afferre.
SENECA, *Epist.* 12.

be miniature likenesses, which friends presented to each other as memorials.

N° 5. is a *Stylus*, or instrument for writing on the *ceratæ tabellæ*, or waxen tablets; which were made of thin leaves of lead, brass, or ivory, and covered with a thin coat of wax. The pen, if I may call it so, was usually of brass; one end pointed, in order to write; the other flat, in order to efface what was wrong, by smoothing or closing the wax. *Horace* gives every writer most excellent advice, in alluding to this practice:

Sæpe *Stylum* veritas, iterum quæ digna legi sint,
Scripturus.

Oft turn your style, when you intend to write
Things worthy to be read.

N° 6. is an instrument of very singular use: a narrow species of spoon, destined to collect, at funerals, the tears of the relations of the deceased, in order to deposit them in the little phials which were placed with the ashes in the urn, memorials of their grief. Such are very frequently found: but the custom is far higher than that of classical antiquity; for the *PSALMIST*, in expressing his sorrows, alludes to it; *THOU tellest my flittings; put my tears into thy bottle.*

N° 7. is an instrument seemingly designed for the purpose of dressing the wicks of lamps.

N° 8. may possibly be destined for the same uses.

N° 9. is a brazen bodkin.

N° 10. is a *fibula* or brotche, gilt, and enameled with deep blue in front.

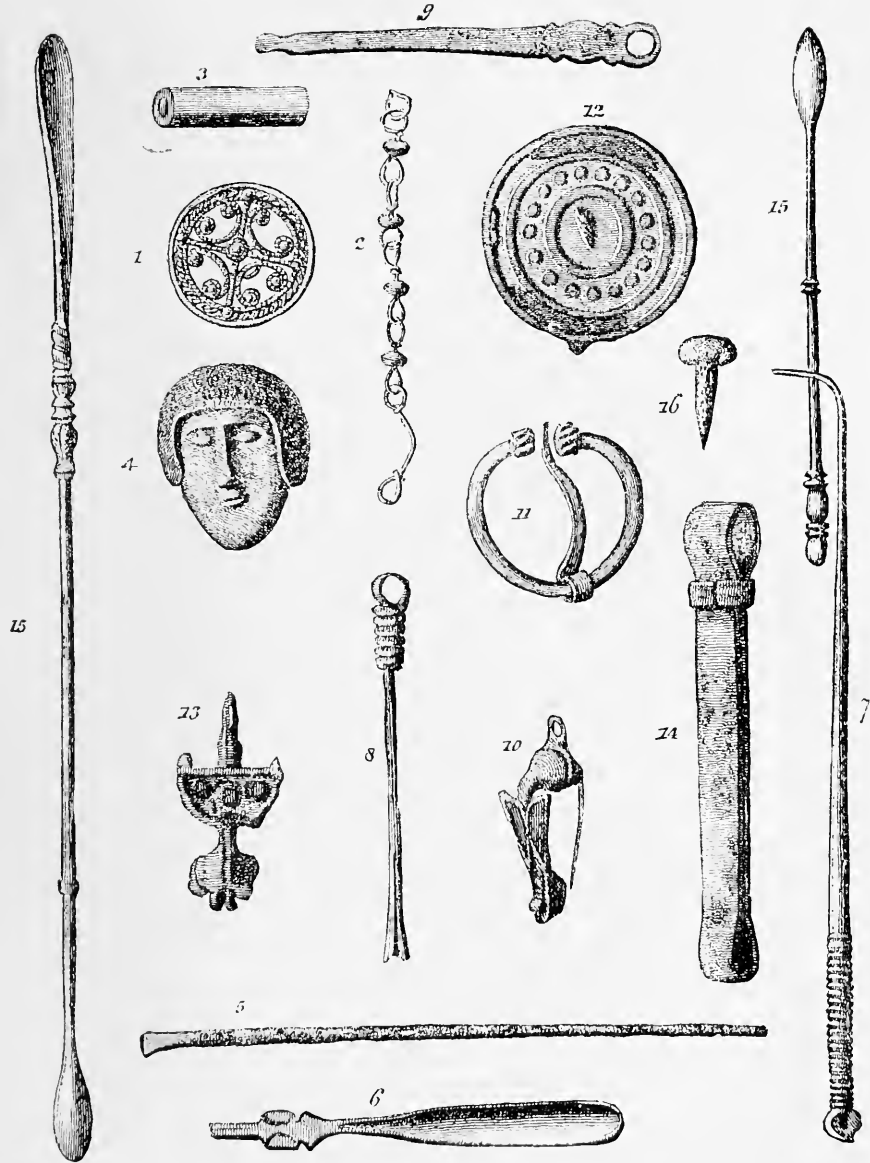
N° 11. is a brotche, not unlike some used at present by the common Highlanders; whose dress, in its genuine simplicity, seems to have been borrowed from the *Romans*.

N° 12. is also a species of button; but differs from the modern (as do all I have seen) by having no shank: instead, was a tongue, similar to those of the common *fibulæ*. The front of this is enameled with deep blue.

N° 13. is another, of a very different form. This has also lost its *fibulæ*; but the defect is very apparent.

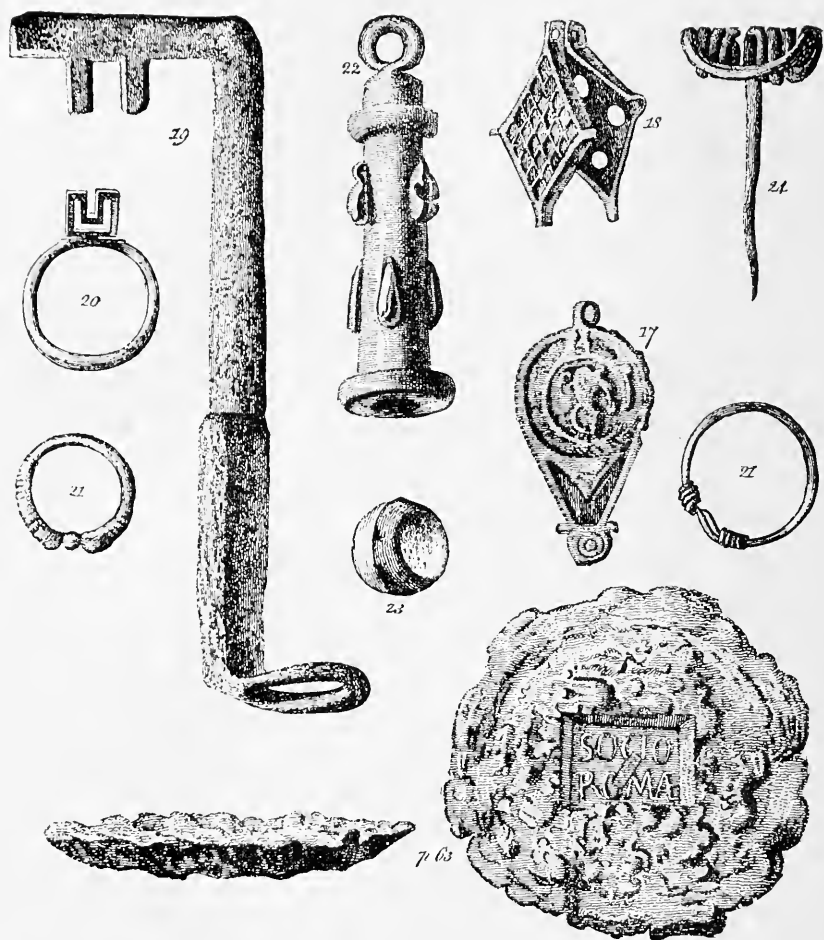
N° 14. is a *forceps*; an instrument much in vogue among the *Romans*, for extirpating hairs. This was used for the same purpose as the *Turkish* fair do the *Rusma*. The pincers here engraven are of great size and strength; perhaps employed by some robust coxcomb, such as *Persius* rallies so severely, in his fourth satire, for his unbecoming effeminacy.

N° 15. 15. seem to have been instruments of sacrifice. One end of each is round, and of the form of an olive; and was intended for the use of the *aruspices*, to insinuate under the entrails of the victim, and to lift them up for the better inspection of the parts. The other extremity of the



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ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

longer instrument is formed into a spoon, for the purpose of putting the frankincense into the censer.

ACCORDING to the uncertainty that reigns respecting the uses of the antient instruments, I may hazard another conjecture, that they have been chirurgical instruments. The rounded ends were the probes; the hollow end of the longer, the spoon by which the balm was poured into the wound. The metal of which these instruments were made being brass, proves, as count *Caylus* remarksⁱ, that the *Romans* had no apprehensions of its dangerous qualities. It is probable, that they had the art of tempering the metal so as to prevent the noxious effects.

N^o 16. is a brass nail. Antiquaries may rejoice that the *Romans* preferred this metal to mouldering iron, which has preserved to them many a delicious morsel.

N^o 17. tab. vi. is one of those *Bullæ*, or amulets, called *Ithyphallus*, in form of a heart, with a figure (in which decency was little consulted) on the upper part. These were suspended from the necks of children, and originally designed to preserve them from the effects of envy; afterwards from all kinds of evil^k. I cannot help thinking, that the

ⁱ *Recueil d'Antiquites*, iv. 169.

^k Pueris turpicula res in collo quædam suspenditur, ne quid obsit bonæ scævæ causa. VARRO *de Ling. Lat.* vi.

good nurses had another view, that of attracting (in years of maturity) the affections of the fair towards their little favorite.

Hunc optent generum Rex et Regina; puellæ
Hunc rapiant. Quicquid calcaverit hic, Rosa fiat.

Wherever he treads let there rise up a rose,
And the ladies die for him wherever he goes.

For it is well known, the obscene god, in all times, had his votaries among both sexes.

THESE amulets also represented the god *Fascinus*, synonymous with that Deity. *Pliny*¹ relates, that he was not only the guardian of infants, but of the emperors themselves; that the very vestals worshipped him; and the victors placed him (the physician of Envy) beneath their triumphal cars.

N^o 18. is a locket with a hole at one end, in order to suspend it round the neck, or fasten it to the wrist. This, perhaps, was designed to hold a charm; and the holes on one side intended that the contents should transpire, and reach the object of fascination; whether of love; whether of ambition.

N^o 19. a key; which gives no very high idea of the elegance of the *Roman* locksmiths.

N^o 20. is one of a nicer form, and which served both for a ring and key. It possibly was designed for the cabinet of a *Roman* lady, or some *Bellus homo*.

¹ Lib. xxviii. c. 4.

N^o 21. two rings; one of brass, the other of silver wire.

N^o 22. a brazen weight belonging to a mason's levelling instrument, answerable to a modern plummet.

N^o 23. another of lead, belonging to a fishing-net.

N^o 24. the tongue of an ordinary *fibula*.

THESE are the subjects I thought most worthy of engraving: there were multitudes of other things found in the same place; but almost all of them so mutilated or injured by time, as to be rendered quite unintelligible.

ON leaving *Flint*, I took the road to *Halkin*; and immediately on quitting the town, began to ascend the steep slope of the county, fertile, and inclosed to the very edge of the mountain, which was parallel with the shore. The prospect improves the whole way; and from the heights expands to the north-east and south, into a view almost boundless. The estuary of the *Dee* appears beneath, with the city of *Chester* at its extremity. The peninsula of *Wiral*, a naked contrast to *Flintshire*, limits the eastern side of the *Dee*, and the western of the *Mersey*, rich in the commerce of *Liverpool*; beyond which stretches the great county of *Lancaster*, diversified with plains and hills. The mountains of *Yorkshire* and *Derbyshire*

FINE
PROSPECT.

unite to bound the VALE ROYAL of *England*; and the rich and wooded tract about *Northop* and *Hawarden*, with its neighboring mountains, brings relief to the eye, tired with the contemplation of the far remote views.

THIS is but part of the magnificent terrace formed by the public road, that is continued from *Hawarden* to *Clynnog* in *Caernarvonshire*, varying continually with matchless changes of scenery.

HALKIN. THE first place of any note which occurs in the parish of *Halkin*, is a collection of a number of houses, called the *Pen-tre*, or hamlet; a name in *Wales* common to all such assemblages of dwellings, where there is no church; to distinguish it from *Llan*, where the place of devotion stands. This took its rise in the present century, and was much increased by the concourse of miners, on the discovery of a rich vein in the adjacent fields.

ALMOST contiguous, lies *Halkin* mountain; a vast tract, in the parish of the same name, and in those of *Northop*, *Skeiviog*, and *Holywell*.

THE surface is common: the mineral the property of lord *Grosvenor*, by virtue of a grant, made in 1634, to his ancestor, Sir *Richard Grosvenor* knight, by *Charles I.* of all the mines of lead or rakes of lead, within the hundreds of *Coles-hill* and *Rhuddlan*^m. These tracts were before

^m *Harleian MSS.* No. 2092. 9.

set on leases for a certain term of years. Thus *James I.* grants that term to *Richard Gwynne*, on payment of the annual acknowledgment of sixty-six shillings and eight pence; and a new one was granted in 1629, by a warrant from lord treasurer *Weston*, to *Richard Grosvenor*, Esq; *Roger Grosvenor* his son, and Mr. *Thomas Gamul*, for their joint lives, paying the usual rent, and a fine of ten poundsⁿ.

I APPREHEND that this grant, and another similar, of the minerals in *Bromfield* and *Yale*, made to the same gentleman, are the first alienations of this nature from the crown^o; which, for many centuries after the Conquest, assumed the entire claim of all mines and minerals, by virtue of the royal prerogative. Sir *John Pettus*^p has preserved a series of grants, from the reign of *Edward I.* to that of *Henry VII.* which empower different persons to search for ore. Some of them are confined to particular counties, others to the kingdom in general: and the only prohibition is that of working beneath castles or houses; in gardens or meadows; the owners of which were to be indemnified in all damages they might

ⁿ *Harleian MSS.* No. 2002. 9.

^o Unless (as a friend suggests) the grant of the Duchy of *Cornwall*, and its revenue to the heir apparent of the crown, made by *Edward III.* may be termed so. ED.

^p *Fodine Regales*, from p. 11 to 19.

sustain. *Richard II.* is the first prince who makes a general allowance. In his letters patent to *Richard Wake*, clerk, for searching for mines of gold and silver in the county of *Devon* for ten years, the adventurer had power to dig (paying damage to the owner of the ground) as well within liberties as without; and to pay one-tenth of the profit to the Holy Church, and a ninth into the exchequer.

THIS is not the first instance of the application of the tithe of ore to religious uses: *Edward I.* directs the same proportion to be payed to the parochial churches in *Wales*, out of the neighboring mines^a. The abbey of *Basingwerk* had also a revenue arising from the same source^r.

I CANNOT find that the owner of the ground, in case the mine was discovered in private property, was permitted to have any share of the profit, till the fifth of *Henry VI.* (1426); when the duke of *Bedford*, regent of *France*, received a ten years lease of all the mines of gold and silver in the kingdom of *England*, paying to Holy Church a tenth, to the king a fifteenth, and to the lord of the soil a twentieth part. This allotment, though small, is a proof of the justice and moderation that guided the actions of the protector of *Henry's* infant years.

^a *Rotuli Walliæ* (Sir Joseph Ayloff's), 75.

^r *Tanner's Notit. Monast.* 711.

THESE regal grants were for every species of metal, excepting iron: for gold and silver, copper, tin and lead, and all other metals containing gold and silver. These two were the great object; yet the grants do not preclude the royal claim to the baser kinds.

DURING this reign, the art of refining, or the separation of metals from the ore, was made the ground of an imposture common enough in after times. There are not fewer than four instances of persons undertaking the transmutation of the baser metals into pure gold and silver; each of whom received the royal protection^s, to prevent them from being interrupted in their operations: for certain malevolent people supposed they used unlawful arts, *i. e.* the art magic. In a superstitious age, this suspicion might have proved fatal to the projectors; who wisely assumed the most religious term for their mystery, to obviate the malice of their enemies. The metals were not to

^s *Rymer's Fœdera*, xi. 68. 128. 240. 300.

Henry IV. had passed an act, that "none shall use to multiply gold or silver, nor use the craft of multiplication: and if any the same do, that he incur penalty of felony." This was aimed at persons, who, under pretence of transmutation, counterfeited the nobler metals. But afterwards it was found a check on the metallurgic art; as it extended even to the punishment of any ingenious refiner, who had discovered the method of getting more gold and silver out of the baser kinds than was known before, which occasioned the repeal of the act, in the first year of William and Mary, c. 30.

be transmuted, but *transubstantiated*^t; for they had great reason to imagine, that the believers of the word in the religious sense, would hardly contradict the feasibility of the project in the temporal meaning. Besides, they were to act under the guise of piety; for the adept

must be *homo frugi*;
A pious, holy, and religious man,
One free from mortal sin, a very virgin^u.

We hear nothing of the event of these undertakings; but imagine they ended like all others of a similar nature. The bubble did not die with this weak prince; for in 1476, we find that *Edward IV.* gave the same encouragement to one *David Beaupe* and *John Marchaunt*, to have for four years *facultatem et scientiam philosophiæ artificialem naturalem generationis a mercurio in aurum faciendo, et simili modo a mercurio in argentum*: the liberty of changing mercury into gold and silver^x. We hear no more of these impostures till the reigns of *Elizabeth* and *James I.* when they were most successfully revived^y.

EDWARD continued the mineral grants to several great men; among others to the earl of *Warwick*, the earl of *Northumberland*, and his brother *Richard* earl of *Gloster*. The farm was

^t *Rymer's Fœdera*, xi. 68. 128. 240. 309. ^u *Ben Jonson's Alchemist*.

^x *Rymer*, xii. 28.

^y Vide *Life of Doctor Dee*; *Ben Jonson's Alchemist*, &c.

now encreased; they were to pay the king an eighth neat profit, the lord of the soil the ninth, and the curate of the place the tenth.

In the short and turbulent reign of *Richard III.* no attention was paid to concerns of this kind; but his successor, *Henry VII.* in his very first year, discovered his ruling passion, avarice, by immediately appointing *Jasper* duke of *Bedford*, and several other persons of distinction, to be governors of all his mines in *England* and in *Wales*, paying to the king the fifteenth^a of the *pure* gold and silver, and to the lord of the soil the eleventh, *as it grows*.

ELIZABETH was the first of our princes who laid the foundation for our mineral success, and for all the vast manufactures that arose in consequence. I read, that in 1452, *Henry VI.*^a (possibly on discovery of the imposture of metallic transmutations) sent out of *Hungary*, *Austria*, and *Bohemia*, for three experienced miners, and thirty assistants, to work his mines; so unskilled were the *English* at that time. The civil wars, which broke out immediately after, frustrated this wise measure. *Elizabeth* resumed it, being too quick-sighted not to perceive the defects and wants of her kingdom. She not only adopted but improved on the plan. Our knowledge of minerals was almost ex-

^a *Moses Stringer*, author of *Opera Mineralia explicata*, calls it the *ninth*, which suits better the character of that monarch.

^a *Rymer*, xi. 317.

tinguished, and of course the manufactures which depended on them. We imported our swords, our knives, stirrups, bits, and even our pins, out of *Germany*, through the channel of the *Netherlands*. Our works of brass, and even our wire, excepting a small quantity which was worked by hand, were of foreign fabrick. The first step taken by this politic princess, was to forbid the importation of these and several other articles, from parts beyond sea^b: the next was to invite into her kingdom foreign miners, foreign smelters, and foreign artificers of metallic productions.

SHE next formed a corporation, under the title of THE SOCIETY FOR THE MINES ROYAL. The first governor was *William* earl of *Pembroke*: several men of rank were joined in the commission as assistants, and several citizens, and some foreigners of known experience in these matters. She likewise framed the same members into another corporation, which naturally depended on the former, viz. the SOCIETY FOR THE MINERALS AND BATTERY WORKS. These corporations were founded on *May* the 28th 1567.

SOME progress had been made, a few years before, towards procuring materials for these new manufactures; in 1563, she had granted the mines of eight counties, besides those in *Wales*, to *Daniel*

^b Statute 5th *Elizabeth*, c. 7.

Houghsetter : in 1564, she had made another grant to *Cornelius Derosse*; and a third in the same year, more comprehensive than all, to *Christopher Shutz*, of all mines, minerals, and subterraneous treasures, (except copperas and alum) which shall be found in all other parts of *England* (not mentioned in the former patent) or within the *English* pale in *Ireland*, by the name of gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, quicksilver, *cadmian* ore, or *lapis calaminaris*; and all manner of “ewres or oares,” simple or pure, mixt or compounded for latten wire or steel, &c. To each of these patentees an *Englishman* was joined.

It is worth observing, that the crown, in most of these grants, lays absolute claim to all mines whatsoever, under a notion that they are royal mines; yet the prerogative could only be entitled to such which yielded gold and silver. The origin of this pretence arose from the king's right of coinage, in order that he might have the requisite materials; which would have confined him to the two noble metals. But until the happy period arrived when our constitution was established, and the royal and the private property justly distinguished, the subject was too weak to assert his rightful claim. ELIZABETH herself was too fond of the darling prerogative (even with all her boasted love to her people) to resign this part. Her patent to *William Humfrey* and *Christopher Shutz* is

worded in the most unlimited manner; for it not only gave them power to sink shafts wheresoever they pleased (gardens, &c. excepted), but to build houses requisite to carry on the works, not only upon the royal demesnes, but on the grounds of any of her subjects. The spirited *Percies*, in the person of *Thomas* earl of *Northumberland*, first withstood this invasion of his right. He contested with the crown the title to the copper mines in his manor of *Keswick*; but the lawyers decided against him, alleging, that although the crown had a power to grant away its manors, it had not the power to alienate the mineral, being perfectly linked to the prerogative of the crown.

BUT, as usual, the gentlemen of the long robe had two opinions respecting this point: some asserting, that if any gold or silver was found in the mines of baser metal, the whole would belong to the king; which, in fact, was bestowing all the mineral property on the crown, there being scarcely any base metal but what holds some particles of the nobler: others again, in a future reign, qualified this by saying, ‘That although the gold or silver contained in the base metal of a mine, in the hands of a subject, be of less value than the base metal, yet if the gold or silver do counter-vail the charge of refining it, or be of more worth than the base metal spent in refining it, THIS IS A ROYAL MINE; and as well the base

‘metal as the gold and silver in it, belong to the prerogative of the crown.’

SUCH was the state of the royal claim; so discouraging to the industry of the subject, till the great event of the REVOLUTION; when the crown, in the first year of *William and Mary*, fully gave up all pretensions to the mines of copper, tin, iron, and lead, notwithstanding gold or silver may be extracted from them in any quantities. By a following act, this right was again confirmed: only the crown reserved to itself a power of purchasing¹, within thirty days after raising, all ores made merchantable, at the following rates: copper at 16*l.* per ton, tin at 40*l.* lead at 9*l.*; and in default of such payment, the owners were at liberty to dispose of their ore as they pleased. Thus, as Mr. BLACKSTONE^e observes, the private owners were not discouraged from working mines, through a fear that they may be claimed as royal; neither does the king depart from the just rights of his revenue, since he may have all the precious metal contained in the ore, paying no more for it than the value of the base metal is supposed to be; to

^e This opinion was given in 1640, 1641, and subscribed by *Maynard*, *Glanville*, and others, the first lawyers of the time.

^d This right of pre-emption has been reserved by the kings of *England* and dukes of *Cornwall*, in all their charters of liberties granted to the tin-men of *Cornwall*. Ed.

^e COMMENTARIES, 4to, i. 294.

which base metal the land-owner is by reason and law entitled.

Some account of the ores and fossils of the mineral tract, which gave rise to this digression, will be given when I cross it again in the course of my journey.

LLAN-
HALKIN.

FROM *Pentre Halkin*, I pursued my journey along the *Chester* road: and passed by the *Llan*. The church dedicated to St. *Mary*, is a neat small edifice, lately re-built, partly by a brief, partly by subscription. It stands on the site of a church, mentioned in *Doomsday-book*. At the Conquest, this tract bore the name of *Alchene*, from which the present name is taken. *Brynford*, a township now in the parish of *Holywell*, and a place called *Inglecroft*, at that time were joined to it. *Doomsday-book* says, that here was a church and a presbyter, and three boors; a mill of five shillings annual value; and a wood half a league long, and forty perches broad; the whole valued at ten shillings.

THE old *British* name of this place (still retained by the *Welsh*) is *Lugan* ⁽¹⁾, from a saint, known, I believe, only in the *Welsh* calendar.

ABOUT two or three miles farther, in a woody morass on the left hand, are the foundations of an

(1) What foundation there may be for this I know not, but the *Welsh* name implied by *Lugan* and *Halkin* would seem to have been Helygen or Willow. J.R.

antient pile, called *Llys Edwin*, or *Llys Llan Eúrgain*, originally the seat of *Edwin*, or *Englefield ap Gromr*, lord, or king, as he was styled, of *Tegengle*. He was great grandson to *Howel Dda*, Prince of Wales, and flourished about the year 1041. Numbers of families in this county sprung from him, but most of them are extinct in the male line. It continued in the family till the death of a descendant of his, *Howel Gwynedd*, who lost his life in the cause of *Glyndwr*; when his forfeited estates were bestowed by *Henry IV.* on one *Bryan Saxton*. His posterity possessed them till the 17th of *Henry VI.* who granted them to Sir *John Stanley*, groom of the bedchamber^f. They afterwards became the property of a younger branch of the *Stanleys*, and remained in their possession in the seventeenth century. I find a Sir *Edward Stanley* of *Flint*^g, married to a daughter of *George* lord *Stanley*, about the latter end of the reign of *Henry VII.* who probably was owner of this place.

I MUST not pass unnoticed a strong *British* post, which soars above the road, about two miles to the right. It lies on the summit of a hill, and is surrounded with a great foss and dike of a circular form, with an entrance as usual to such places; and a small artificial mount within the precinct;

MOEL Y
GAER.

^f History of the house of *Stanley*, 28.

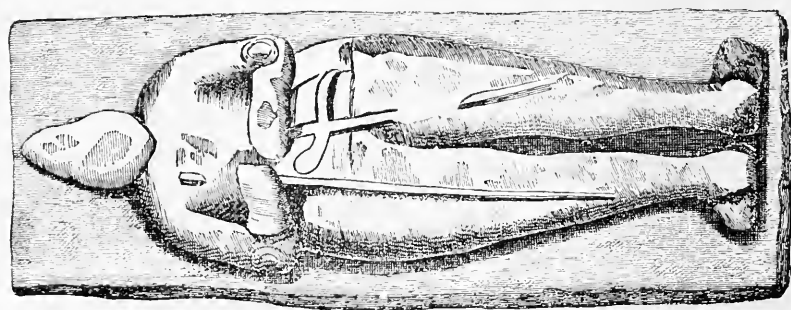
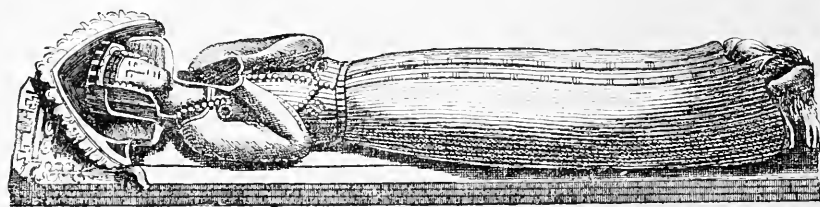
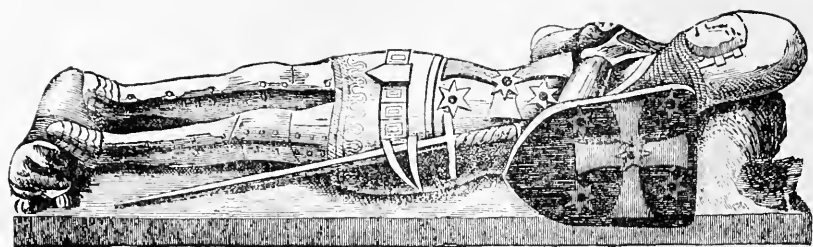
^g *Collins's Peerage*, ii. 453.

a *tribunal cespitium*, from whence our antient heroes might deliver their *araiith* or *allocutio*, to animate their followers against the invading strangers. That it was in use among our leaders is evident; for our boasted *Boadicca* harangued her troops from a turfy mount. This post is called *Moel y Gaer*, or the hill of the fortress; a name common to several others of similar use. This seems to have been an out-post of the *Ordovices*, in order to defend their country against the *Roman* invaders. We shall, in the course of the work, have occasion to mention the chain of posts along the *Clwydian* hills, from that next to the sea, to the remote and internal parts. Our ancestry disputed the possession of their country by inches. In these places they lodged their wives and children; hither they drove their cattle out of the low country: they established in each numerous garrisons ready to sally forth and repel the foe; or to defend all that was dear to them, should the invaders be hardy enough to attack them in their intrenchments.

IN later times, this spot proved fatal to a valiant partizan of *Owen Glyndwr*. *Howel Gwynedd* (whom we lately mentioned) was surprized in a negligent hour, within this post, and there beheaded.

NORTHOP. NORTHOP, a little town, lies next on the road. It bears the addition of *North*, to distinguish it





TOMBS AT NORTHOP

from the other *Hope*. The *British* name is *Llan Eurgain*, from St. *Eurgen*, daughter of *Malgwyn Gwynedd*, ap *Caswallon Law-hir*, ap *Einion Yrth*, ap *Cunedda Wledic*, &c. who died in 586.

William Parry, LL.D. and member for *Queensborough*, was born at *Northop*. He was executed before the door of the parlement-house, in 1584, for designing the death of Queen *Elizabeth*. He had before rendered himself obnoxious, for having had the courage to speak against the bill for the expulsion of popish priests, &c. was committed to prison, but restored to his seat on making submission. He asserted, that his mother was a *Conwy*, of *Bod-rhyddlan*; that his father had thirty children by two wives, and died aged 108. His enemies, on the contrary, say he was of mean parents, and that his father was a publican of this village, of the name of *Harry ap Dafydd*. Be that as it may, his abilities were considerable; but his duplicity brought him to his fatal end. He went a voluntary spy to foreign parts, was gained over by the *Romish* party; probably meant to deceive both sides; so fell a just victim to his artifices.

THE church is dedicated to St. *Peter*. The body is long and embattled: the tower lofty and handsome. Within are three effigiated tombs; one of a fat knight, whose name is lost, and figure much injured by time. Another of a short warrior, completely armed, and in good preservation: on

his shield is a cross *pattée*, charged in the middle with a mullet between four others. The inscription is thus, *Hic jacet Ith. Vach. ap Bledd Vach* (1). I suspect him to have been a captain of *Englefield*, mentioned in the pedigree of the *Humphreyses* of *Bodllewyddan*, and said to have been interred here. The third is of a lady, inscribed *Llewc*****, and *anno domini* 1482. According to tradition, her name was *Lleuci Llwyd*, a celebrated beauty of that period; perhaps the same who was beloved by a noted bard, who coming to visit her after long absence, met with the same shock as the *Chevalier de Rancè* did; for each found their beloved in her coffin. The bard fainted at the sight, revived, and composed an elegy on her. The *Chevalier* retired from the world, and founded the abbey of *La Trappe*, famous for its religious austerities.

NORTHOP is a sinecure, annexed to the bishopric of *St. Asaph*, in the 6th of *Queen Anne*, in order to compensate for the mortuaries due to the bishop on the death of every beneficed clergyman in the diocese. From an account taken in the reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, the following were customary:

<i>Imprimis</i> , His best gelding, horse, or mare.	<i>Item</i> , His best coat, jerkin, doublet, and breeches.
<i>Item</i> , His best gown.	<i>Item</i> , His hose, or nether
<i>Item</i> , His best cloak.	stockings, and garters.

(1) That is in full, probably, "Hic jacet Ithel Vachan ap Bleddyn Vachan," with Vachan for Vychan, now spelled Vaughan. J.R.

Item, His waste coat.

Item, His purse and girdle.

Item, His hat and cap.

Item, His knife and gloves.

Item, His falchion.

Item, His signet, or ring of

Item, His best book.

gold^h.

Item, His surplice.

BETWEEN the eighth and ninth stone, about a quarter of a mile out of the *Chester* road, are the ruins of *Eulo* castle, placed on the edge of a deep wooded dingle. It is a small fortress, consisting of two parts: an oblong tower, rounded at the side, and guarded on the accessible places by a strong wall at some distance from it: an oblong yard, with the remains of a circular tower at its extremity, forms the other part. The towers are now finely over-grown with ivy, and command the view of three wooded glens, deep and darksome, forming a most gloomy solitude.

EULO
CASTLE.

IN the woods near this place, called to this day *Coed Eulo*, part of the flower of the army detached by *Henry II.* in 1157, from his camp on *Saltney*, was surprized and defeated by *David* and *Conan*, the sons of *Owen Gwynedd*, sent by their father with a strong party from his camp near *Basingwerk*. They suffered the enemy to march along the streights of the country, till their forces were entangled in the depth of woods, and the steepes of the narrow vallies, so frequent in these parts. The attack was sudden, fierce, and unex-

BATTLE.

^h *Willis's St. Asaph*, 280.

BATTLE OF
COLESHILL.

pected: the slaughter dreadful; and the pursuit carried even to *Henry's* encampmentⁱ. This proved but a prelude to the *English* of a second defeat. The king, with an intent to repair the disgrace, marched forward with his whole army; and at *Coleshill*, near *Flint*, suffered himself to be engaged in the same difficulties which his detachment experienced before. His forces were again defeated; and *Eustace Fitz John*, a baron first in rank, wealth, and abilities among the *English*, and *Robert de Courci*, another great baron, with numbers of others, were slain. *Henry de Essex*, hereditary standard-bearer, and a man of approved valor, was seized with a panic; and flinging down the standard, cried out, that the king was killed^k! The route would have been general, if *Henry* had not valiantly rallied his forces, and repulsed the *Welsh*; but in the end, he thought it prudent to withdraw his army, and encamp in a secure station. He afterwards attempted to cut off the retreat of *Owen Gwynedd*, by marching along the shore, and getting between him and the mountains; but the wise prince, penetrating into his views, retired to a plain near *St. Asaph*, still called CIL-OWEN, or *Owen's Retreat*; and from thence to a strong post, named *Bryn y Pin*, defended by great ramparts

ⁱ *Powel*, 207.

^k *Guil. Neubrig*, lib. ii. c. 5. This is the author whom the *Welsh* call *Gwillim Bach*. *Brompton*, 1048.

and ditches. This camp lies in the parish of *St. George*, on a lofty rock above the church, and is now called *Pen y Parc*.

BRYN DYCHWELWCH¹, or the eminence, on which *Owen* pronounced the order, RETREAT! by its name preserves the memory of the circumstance. It lies over *Pentre Bagillt*, below *Gadllŷs*, and is supposed to have been the spot from which he retired to *Cil-Owen*.

IN this neighborhood are two very lofty artificial mounts, the site of buildings long since destroyed. One is near *Gadllŷs* smelting-works, and might have been the seat of one of our princes, as the name expresses; *Gadllŷs* signifying *Palatium Castrense*, or *Royal Head Quarters*^m. About a mile above *Flint* stands the other, called *Bryn y Cwn*, or the *Hill of Dogs*, which possibly might have been an hunting seat.

A CIRCUMSTANCE, consequential of this battle, proves, that the report of *Edgar's* having extirpated the race of wolves out of the principality, is erroneous. A young *Welshman*, killed in this battle, was discovered eight days after, attended by his faithful dog, who remained by the corpse the whole time, without food, and defended it from being the prey of birds and wolvesⁿ.

¹ *Bryn*, a hill; *Dychwelwch*, return.

^m This should not destroy the tradition, that it was the place on which *Henry* encamped after his retreat.

ⁿ *Girald. Camb. Itin.* lib. ii. c. 10. p. 873.

There is no sort of tradition about the founder of the castle of *Eulo*. Whether it was built by one of the lords of *Tegangle*, or whether it was erected by *Henry* to prevent a similar disaster, by placing a garrison here, I will not pretend to determine. It has been for centuries in ruins; for *Leland* speaks of it as ‘a ruinous castle or pile, ‘ belonging to *Hoele*, a gentleman of *Flyntshire*, ‘ that by auncient accustume was wont to give the ‘ bagge of the sylver harpe to the beste harpir of ‘ *North Walys*, as by a privelege of his ancestors.’ The antiquary adds, ‘that he dwellith ‘ at *Penrine*, in *Flyntshire*.’ We know of no such place in the county; but suspect that the gentleman intended was *Thomas ap Richard ap Howel*, lord of *Mostyn*, in whose family that privilege was long invested; that gentleman having been cotemporary with *Leland*.

MANOR.

THE manor of *Eulo* was reckoned an appertenance to the manor of *Montalto*, or *Mold*. It was in the crown in the 26th of *Henry VIII.* who granted it to *Peter Stanley*, esquire, gentleman of his household, with the tolls of the market of *Flint*^p. In the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, it was held by *Edward Stanley* by payment of 20*l.* 10*s.* a year^q. At present^r it is in possession of *John*

^o *Leland Itin.* v. 56. ^p *Harleian MSS.* No. 1968. 10.

^q *Harleian MSS.* No. 1970. 7.

^r Now of *Bryan Cooke*, Esq. in right of his wife. Ed.

Davies esquire, of *Llanerch*.—In *Saxton's* map of *Flintshire*, is a place called *Yowly Hall*; and I find the arms of the family of *Eulo*, the antient owners, in the *Salesbury* pedigree book. But there is not at present the least tradition of them.

WITHIN this lordship are very considerable potteries of coarse earthen ware; such as pans, jugs, great pots for butter, plates, dishes, ovens, flower-pots, &c. There are fourteen works, which make annually between three and four thousand pounds worth. The ware is mostly exported to *Ireland*, and the towns on the *Welsh* coast; particularly to *Swansea*. There are besides six other works for the making of fire-bricks; few clays being better fitted for the purpose of resisting the intense heat of the smelting-furnaces. These are made of different sizes; and some which are called bearers weigh two hundred pounds. Great quantities of tiles for barn-floors, and for rooms, are also made here; and the annual sale of these two articles amounts to about twelve hundred pounds.

POTTERIES.

THIS clay, of a deep ash-color, is found in beds of a great thickness; and is dug up in hard lumps, resembling a shaly rock; after which it is left for a considerable time exposed to the air, in order to effect its dissolution. The bricks made with it are set in the lead-furnaces with the unburnt clay, instead of mortar.

I MUST not leave the parish of *Northop* without visiting its maritime parts, which stretch along the channel of the *Dee*. We find there the names of certain townships taken notice of in Domesday-book; *Lead-brook*, *Normanized* into *Lathroc*, from the *Anglo-Saxon* *Læd*, and *Broca*, either from the quantity of lead washed out of it, or from the smelting-works established on it. This township, after the Conquest, was held by *Robert* of *Rhuddlan*.

ULFMILTONE was another, now known by the name of *Golftyn*.

WEPRE, another township, was held by *William de Malbedeng*, from the church of *Chester*. It is twice noticed in Domesday-book; and it is said to have had on it a wood a league and a half long. In one place mention is made of two villeyns and two boors: in another, of one villeyn and a *rad-man*; and that it had been possessed by one *Ernni*, a freeman. Of late years, a very handsome pier has been built by the river *Dee* company in this township, jutting into the channel, for the protection of the ships bound to or from *Chester*, under which they may take shelter in bad weather or adverse winds.

HAWARDEN. FROM hence I ascended to *Hawarden*, a small town. I shall speak first of the manor and castle. The last forms a most picturesque object, soaring above the woods. This place, like most others in

our county, bears two names, *Pennardd halawg*, perhaps corrupted from *Pen y Llwch*⁽¹⁾, or *the head land above the lake*; *Saltney*, and the other sub-jacent marshes, having once been covered by the sea. The other name is *Saxon*, as we find it written in Domesday-book, *Haordine*; at which time it was a lordship; had a church, two *Caruca* or ploughlands, half of one belonging to the latter; half an acre of meadow; a wood two leagues long and half a league broad. The whole was valued at forty shillings; yet on all this were but four villeyns, six boors, and four slaves: so low was the state of population.

It is probable, that this place had been a *Bri-*
tish post, opposed to the country of the *Cornavii*,
 and to the invading *Romans*. To the west of the
 church, in a field adjoining to the road, is a mount
 called *Truman's* hill, within a piece of ground
 which appears to have been squared, and nicely
 sloped. This evidently had been a small camp,

ROMAN.

(1) There is no reason to suppose that this is exactly correct, but in the Welsh form of the name now in use, *Pennar Lâg*, the second word may be the English *lake* borrowed, rather perhaps than the *halawg*, dirty, polluted, of the old name. Hawarden seems to be a translation of *Penardd*, and to mean High-warden, in which one detects the usual *wardline* of the Welsh border; the meaning of the Welsh *penn* being head or top, and *ardd* being a reduced form of *gardd*, which means a garden or enclosure. The qualifying word after *Pennardd* was necessitated by its being a name which occurred elsewhere, as for instance in *Pennardd* beyond the town of Caernarvon. J. R.

whose figure has been much obliterated by the frequency of agriculture. It stood on the brow of the hill, and commanded a full view of the country. Another mount, called *Conna's He*⁽¹⁾, is to be seen near *Hawarden castle*. The *Roft*, an eminence (overlooking another flat) with fosses, and an exploratory mount, lying in the parish of *Gresford*, was another; and at *Caer-Estyn*, a fourth. We shall find occasion to speak more of these in the course of our journey.

SAXON. THE *Saxons* possessed themselves of every stronghold which the *Britons* or the *Romans* had deserted. Some they retained, others they neglected, as the policy of the new invaders, and the necessity of the situation, required. This, before the Conquest, was a chief manor, and the capital one of the hundred of *Atis-cross*. On the invasion of *William*, it was found in the possession of the gallant *Edwin*, and probably was one of the places of his residence. It was a cover to his *Mercian* dominions against the *Britons*, the natural and inveterate enemies of the *Saxon* race.

NORMAN. ON the Conquest, it was comprehended in the vast grant made to *Hugh Lupus*. It afterwards devolved to the barons of *Montalto*, or *Mold*, which they held by stewardship to the earls of *Chester*, and who made it their residence^r.

(²) This is now called *Conna's Quay*. J.R. ^r *Camden*, ii. 826.

GENEALOGISTS* tell us, that *Roger Fitz-valerine*, son of one of the noble adventurers who followed the fortunes of *William* the conqueror, possessed this castle; and having frequent contests with the *Welsh*, often saved himself by retreating to it; and from that circumstance it was called *Howard's Den*. But, with high respect to all the blood of all the *Howards*, it does not appear that their name was then known: with more probability does their historian say, that *William*, the son of *Fitz-valerine*, received the addition of *de Haward* or *Howard*, from the accident of being born in this place.

ON the extinction of the antient earls of *Chester*, to prevent that honour from being, according to the expression of the time, *parcelled out among distaffs*, this, as well as the other fortresses, were resumed by the crown. In 1264, *Llewelyn*, prince of *Wales*, had a conference at this place† with *Simon de Montfort*, the potent earl of *Leicester*, where they established peace between *Cheshire* and *Wales*, in order to promote their respective designs; and in the year following, on *June* the 22d, *Montfort* obliged his captive monarch to make an absolute cession to the *Welsh* prince, not only of this fortress", but of the absolute sovereignty of *Wales*, and the homage of its barons, heretofore

CEDED TO
LLEWELYN
AP GRYFF-
FYDD.

* *Collins's Peerage*, i. 48.

† *Annales Cestrenses*, quoted by *Carte*, ii. 151.

" *Rymer*, i. 814.

REVERTS TO
THE CROWN.

paid to *Henry*. After the suppression of *Leicester's* rebellion, *Hawarden* reverted to the crown. I must observe, that in 1267, in the pacification brought about by the Pope's legate *Ottoboni*, between *Henry* and *Llewelyn*, it seems as if the castle had been destroyed ⁽¹⁾; for, among other articles, *Llewelyn* agrees to restore to *Robert de Montalto* his lands in *Hawarden*, and restrains him from building a castle there for thirty years^x; probably it was destroyed by *Llewelyn* himself, who foresaw the impossibility of his keeping a fortress so near the *English* borders. The castle must soon have been rebuilt; for I find in 1280 it was styled *Castrum Regis*.

SURPRIZED
BY DAVID AP
GRYFFYDD.

THAT year was distinguished by the general insurrection of the *Welsh*, under their prince *Llewelyn* and his brother *David*; the great effort of our gallant countrymen to preserve their liberties and antient mode of government. The attempt was begun by *David* (at that time newly reconciled to his brother), *March* 22d, on *Palm-Sunday*, in a stormy night, which favoured his design. He surprized this castle; put the garrison to the sword, and wounded and took prisoner *Roger de Clifford*, justiciary of *Chester*. After the death of *Llewelyn*, and the subjection of *Wales*, *David* suffered for

⁽¹⁾ This is perhaps the time when it got the adjective *Halawg* added to its name. J.R.

^x *Rymer*, i. 845.

this in a most severe and distinguished manner; being the first in *England* who died as a traitor in the way in use at this time. He was a prince of a most unamiable character, equally perfidious to his brother, his country, and to *Edward*, his benefactor and protector. In the writ for his trial (which was before the whole baronage of *England*) *Edward* enumerates his kindnesses to him in this pathetic manner: ‘*Quem suscepimus exulem, nutriveramus orphanum, ditaveramus de propriis terris nostris, et sub alarum nostrarum chlamide foveravimus, ipsum inter majores nostri palatii collocavimus.*’ The last proved his greatest misfortune. He might have pleaded exemption from the *English* jurisdiction, and flung a strong odium on the tyranny of the conqueror, had he not accepted a barony, a seat among the *English* peers. He was in the same situation as the duke of *Hamilton* in later times; who denying the power of the court, was told that he was not tried as a *Scotch* peer, but as earl of *Cambridge*, a peerage bestowed on him by his unfortunate master.

DAVID was condemned to four species of punishment; to be drawn by a horse to the place of execution, as a traitor to the king who had made him a knight; to be hanged for murdering *Fulk Trigald*, and other knights, in this castle;

for his sacrilege in committing those murders on *Palm-Sunday*, his bowels were to be burnt; and finally, his body was to be quartered, and hung in different parts of the kingdom, because he had in different parts conspired the death of the king^z.

WE find nothing more of this place till the year 1327, the first of *Edward III.*^a, when *Robert*, the last baron of *Montalt* (for want of issue) passed this mannor, and his other great possessions, to *Isabel* the queen-mother; but on her disgrace, it fell again to the crown.

GRANTED TO
THE EARL OF
SALISBURY.

IN 1337, the king granted the stewardship of *Chester*, with *Hawarden*, &c. to *William Montacute* earl of *Salisbury*; but as *Isabel* retained a life-interest in the grant, he procured her release of it, for the sum of six hundred marks. It continued in his family till the death of his great nephew, *John* earl of *Salisbury*, who was beheaded by the townsmen of *Cirencester*, after an unsuccessful insurrection, in 1400, in favour of *Richard II.* his deposed master. *Salisbury* had before granted his estates in fee to *Thomas Montague* dean of *Surum*, *Lodowick de Clifford*, *John Venour*, and *Richard Hertcombe*, and their heirs: but after his attainder, by act of parlement 7th *Henry IV.* they became forfeited to the king.

1411. IN 1411 it was granted, by patent from *Henry*

^a *Carte*, ii. 195.

^a *Dugdale, Baron*, i. 527.

IV. to his second son *Thomas* duke of *Clarence*; but in 1414, the 2d of *Henry* V. *Thomas* earl of *Salisbury*, son to *John*, petitioned for annulling the former sentence; his suit was referred to another parlement, and then dismissed. *Henry* then made to *Clarence* another grant, in which the former was declared to be invalid. In this the advowson of the living is also given.

CLARENCE was slain at the battle of *Baugy*, 1420, in 1420, and died without issue. *Hawarden* reverted to *Henry* V. and from him to his son *Henry* VI. who, in 1443, granted it to Sir *Thomas Stanley*, comptroller of his household, and to the heirs male of his body: but in 1450, it was resumed; and in the next year granted, together with *Mold*, to *Edward* prince of *Wales*. On this occasion *John Hertcombe* claimed *Hawarden*, as heir to the last survivor of the four feoffees: he alledged that *John* earl of *Salisbury* was not possessed of *Hawarden* at the time of his forfeiture; and on this plea obtained a privy seal to enquire into it. An inquisition was taken; his plea was found to be good; and restitution was made. This *John Hertcombe* levied a fine to Sir *Richard Strangers* knight, &c. and *John Needham*, to the use of *John Needham* and his heirs.

TO SIR
THOMAS
STANLEY.

IN 1454, a fine was levied to *Richard Nevill* earl of *Salisbury*, and *Alice* his wife (daughter to *Thomas Montacute*, the great earl of *Salisbury*)

and Sir *Thomas Stanley* knight, afterwards lord *Stanley*^b, to the use of *Thomas Stanley* and the heirs male of his body; on condition, that if *Thomas Stanley* do sell, or suffer discontinuance, or if he die without issue male, it is lawful for the said *Richard* earl of *Salisbury*, or the heirs of *Alice* his wife, to re-enter. On the death of lord *Stanley*, the fee descended to his son and heir *Thomas*, afterwards earl of *Derby*; and after his decease, to his second wife, *Margaret* countess of *Richmond*, and mother to *Henry VII.* That monarch, in 1495, honoured the place with a visit, and made some residence here for the amusement of stag-hunting: but his primary motive was to soothe the earl her husband, after the ungrateful execution of his brother Sir *William Stanley*.

ON the death of *Margaret*, *Hawarden* descended to *Thomas* earl of *Derby*, grandson to the late earl; and continued in his family till the execution of the gallant *James* earl of *Derby*, in 1651: soon after his death, it was purchased from the agents of sequestration, by serjeant *Glynne*⁽¹⁾. On

^b He had married *Eleanor*, daughter of *Richard* earl of *Warwick*.

(1) The manors of *Hawarden*, *Mold* and *Hope*, were purchased from "the Trustees for the sale of Delinquents' lands" by Sir *John Trevor*, Colonel *George Twisleton*, and Captain *Andrew Ellis*, who had previously agreed with *Charles* earl of *Derby*, to purchase the three manors in trust for him. The purchase money with interest was to be repaid within a year. This agreement was witnessed by serjeant *Glynne*, and Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*. On the failure of the earl to

the Restoration, the Lords made an order, on the 17th of *July* 1660, that the earl of *Derby's*, and the estates of several other lords, which had been sold in the late usurpation, without their consent, should be repossessed by them without molestation^c. This induced *Glynne* to make an offer to the earl, of the surrender of *Hawarden*, for a lease of three lives^d. The proposal was either rejected, or not immediately accepted: the consequence of which was, the loss of the whole to the *Derby* family. The Lords, resentful of the indignities their order had experienced in the late troubles, began with an attempt to obtain reparation to one of the greatest sufferers. In the *December* of the same year, they sent down to the Commons a private bill, for restoring to *Charles* earl of *Derby*, all the manors, lands, &c. which belonged to his late father. This was strongly opposed; and the bill was laid aside, without ever coming to a second reading^e. The earl was then glad to compound with the serjeant for the property of this place, and granted it to him and his heirs, in whom it still remains.

to repay the purchase money, a series of negotiations took place between the earl, the serjeant, and the purchasers, and *Hawarden* was eventually conveyed to *Glynne*, apparently with the full concurrence of the earl of *Derby*. The attempt to recover possession, which is described in the text, was therefore scarcely equitable. T.P.

^c *Drake's Parlem. Hist.* xxii. 384.

^d Account communicated to me by the late Sir *John Glynne*.

^e *Drake*, xxiii. 53.

It appears by these proceedings, as if the parlement was fearful of the consequences of even an act of justice; for, during the long troubles, there had been such vast change of property, effected by such variety of means, that it was apprehended, that the enquiry into the causes, and the dispossession of numbers who had quietly enjoyed such property from their fathers, might be attended with the most inflammatory consequences. It is likewise probable, that many of the members might be interested in the event; therefore they were determined to stop at once any proceeding that might tend to affect the fortunes of themselves or friends. Numbers of sales were made by the loyalists, under the influence of fear. They were content to receive a trifle for the purchase, rather than lose the whole by violence; for there were very few who had not incurred a *premunire* under the ruling powers, which they were glad to get clear of by a seeming voluntary sale. When they were thus disappointed in the hope of re-enjoyment of their fortunes, they laid the blame on the king, and invented the calumny of his rejecting this bill, after it had been passed unanimously by both houses.

DURING the civil wars, this castle suffered the usual vicissitudes of fortune. It was early possessed by the parlement, being betrayed by the governor, a neighboring gentleman of the name



HAWARDEN CASTLE.



of *Ravenscroft*[†]; and kept for its use till the year 1643, at which time a cessation of arms being agreed to, on the part of the king, with the *Irish* rebels, a number of the forces were drawn from *Ireland*, and landed at *Mostyn* in this county, in the month of *November*. These were immediately employed to reduce the castle of *Hawarden*, garrisoned by one hundred and twenty men of Sir *Thomas Middleton*'s regiment. The garrison received, by a trumpet, a verbal summons; which gave occasion to the following letters between lieutenant-colonel *Marrow*, and *John Warren* and *Alexander Elliot*, the commanders on the part of the parlement. I omit the immediate answer to the summons, written in the religious strain affected by the party; which *Marrow* replies to like a true *Cavalier*.

‘ GENTLEMEN,

‘ It is not for to hear you preach that I am
 ‘ sent here; but in his majestie’s name to demand
 ‘ the castle for his majestie’s use: as your allegiance binds you to be true to him, and not to
 ‘ enveigle those innocent souls that are within
 ‘ with you; so I desire your resolution, whether
 ‘ you will deliver the castle or no?’

The rejoinder from the castle was to this effect:

[†] *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, ii. 471; iii. 204.

‘ SIR,

‘ We have cause to suspect your disaffection to
‘ preaching, in regard we find you thus employed.
‘ If there be innocent souls here, God will re-
‘ quire their blood of them that shed it. We can
‘ keep our allegiance and the castle too; and
‘ therefore you may take your answer, as it was
‘ in *English* plain enough before: we can say no
‘ more, but God’s will be done^g.’

These letters had at the time but little weight. Captain *Thomas Sandford*, leader of the Firelocks, determined to frighten them into submission by the terror of his name, or persuade them to terms by the powers of his pen; and thus addresses the obstinate commandants:

‘ GENTLEMEN,

‘ I PRESUME you very well know, or have heard
‘ of, my condition and disposition; and that I
‘ neither give nor take quarter. I am now with
‘ my Firelocks (who never yet neglected oppor-
‘ tunity to correct rebels) ready to use you as I
‘ have done the *Irish*: but loth I am to spill my
‘ countrymen’s blood; wherefore, by these I advise
‘ you to your feilty and obedience towards his
‘ majesty; and shew yourselves faithful subjects,
‘ by delivering the castle into my hands for his

^g *Rushworth*, II. part iii. 300.

‘ majesty’s use; in so doing, you shall be received
 ‘ into mercy, &c. otherwise, if you put me to the
 ‘ least trouble or loss of blood to force you, expect
 ‘ no quarter for man, woman, or child. I hear
 ‘ you have some of our late *Irish* army in your
 ‘ company: they very well know me; and that
 ‘ my Firelocks use not to parley. Be not unad-
 ‘ vised; but think of your liberty; for I vow all
 ‘ hopes of relief are taken from you; and our
 ‘ intents are not to starve you, but to batter and
 ‘ storm you, and then hang you all, and follow the
 ‘ rest of that rebellious crew. I am no bread-
 ‘ and-cheese rogue, but, as ever, a loyalist, and
 ‘ will ever be, while I can write or name

‘ *Nov.* 28,

‘ THOMAS SANDFORD,

‘ 1643.

‘ Captain of Firelocks.

‘ I EXPECT your speedy answer this *Tuesday*
 ‘ night, at *Broad-Lane Hall*, where I am now,
 ‘ your near neighbor.’

‘ To the officer commanding in chief at
Hawarden castle, and his concerts there.’

ALL this eloquence would have been flung away,
 had not more forces on the side of the king, and
 want of provisions on that of the garrison, co-
 operated with this valiant epistle. So, as *Rush-*
worth says, ‘after a fortnight’s siege, and much
 ‘ ink and little blood spilt, the castle being in want
 ‘ of provisions, was surrendered to Sir *Michael*

‘*Earnley*, on condition to march out with half
 ‘ arms and two pair of colors, one flying, and the
 ‘ other furled; and to have a convoy to *Wem* or
 ‘ *Nantwyche*.’

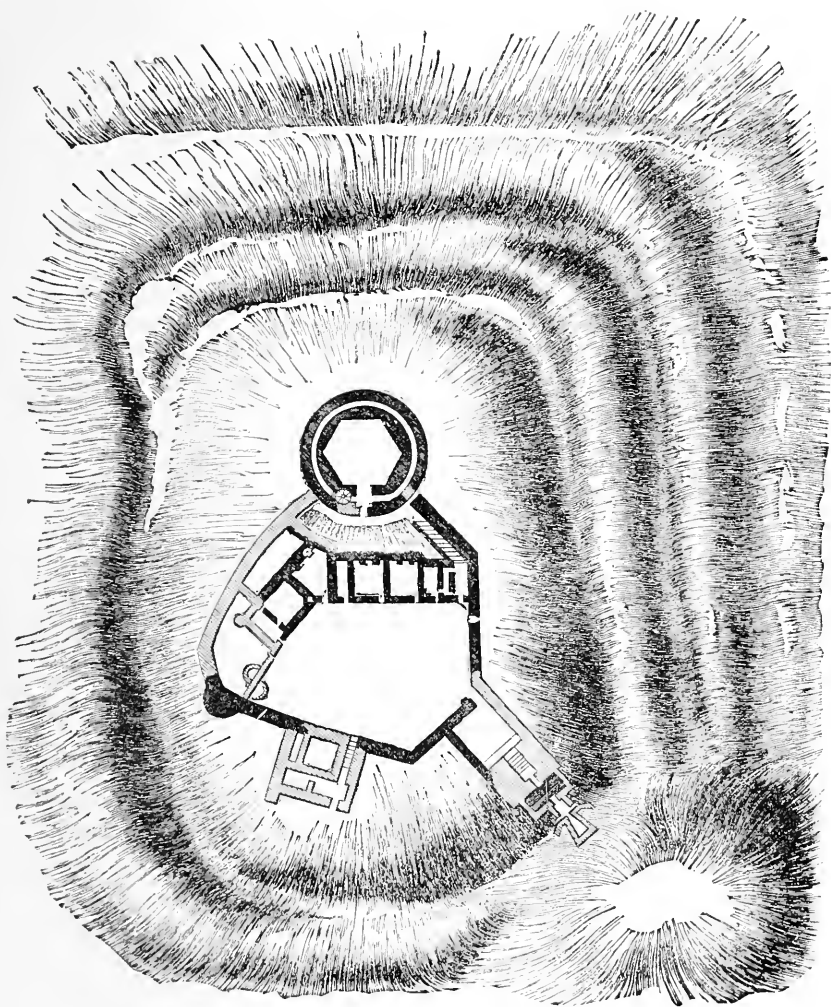
AGAIN IN 1645.
 THE royalists kept possession of the castle till
 after the surrender of *Chester* to Sir *William*
Brereton in 1645; when, on *March* 17th, O. S.
 it was taken by major-general *Mytton*, after a
 month’s siege. At that time Sir *William Neal*
 was governor, who declined to give it up till he
 had obtained his majesty’s permission^h. On the
 22d of *December* it was by vote of parlement or-
 DISMANTLED. dered to be dismantled, with four other castles in
 this part of *North Wales*ⁱ. These orders ex-
 tended only to the rendering it untenable; but the
 farther destruction was effected by the owner, Sir
*William Glynn*e, the first baronet of the name,
 between the years 1665 and 1678.

DESCRIBED. THE remains are a fine circular tower or keep,
 on the summit of a mount. This alone is pretty
 entire. Nothing except this, and a few walls, and
 the foundations of some rooms, exist at present;
 which Sir *John Glynn*e^k has, with great pains,
 laid open by the removal of the rubbish. In one
 place was discovered a long flight of steps, at the
 bottom of which was a door, and formerly a draw-
 bridge, which crossed a deep long chasm (nicely

^h MS. at *Mostyn*.

ⁱ *Whitelock*, 231.

^k Grandfather to the present possessor. ED.



PLAN OF HAWARDEN CASTLE.

faced with freestone) to another door leading to two or three small rooms. Probably they were places of confinement, where prisoners might be lodged with the utmost security, after pulling up the bridge over the deep chasm that intervened between them and open day.

THE several parts of this fortress seem to have been built at different times. It is surrounded with deep fosses, now filled with trees. In 1665, the timber of the park and demesne was valued at five thousand pounds, and was sold in that century; but the late owner¹ has had the merit of restoring it many fold to the next, by his vast plantations.

THE living is in the gift of the lord, who presents; and the bishop of *Chester* inducts. The rector does all episcopal acts, except those of ordination and confirmation; and has a peculiar exempt jurisdiction: grants licences, registers and proves wills; and has his court and proctors.

RECTORY.

The living is at present eleven^m hundred pounds a year; and, in proportion as the subjacent lands are cultivated, will experience a far greater improvement.

THE church is a plain but handsome building, kept in neat and decent repair. The parsonage-house is new, and suitable to the revenue. The

¹ The baronet mentioned above. ED.

^m Now increased to full three thousand. ED.

garden is very prettily laid out, upon a high and commanding ground.

PAROCHIAL
REVENUE.

THE parish receives two hundred a year from the river *Dee* company. This was granted by act of parlement, in consideration of eight hundred acres of land, belonging to *Hawarden*, inclosed on the north side of the river, for the use of the adventurers in the navigation. This sum is to be paid to the lord of the manor and other trustees; and is applicable to any uses which any five (with the consent of the lord) shall agree on.

PICTURES.

IN the mansion-houseⁿ, built by the late Sir *John Glynn* in 1752, are four pictures of great merit, part of the collection of Sir *Kenelm Digby*. They represent the evangelists with their respective attributes; seemingly the production of *Valentine*, a *Frenchman*^o, who studied the style of *Caravaggio*. These are in his best manner. The attitudes are fine; and the lights and shadows most admirably disposed. They are half lengths; a size that his great model excelled in.

AMONG the family portraits, are two of the chief justice *Glynn*, the able, political lawyer of

ⁿ The present worthy owner, Sir *Stephen Glynn*, by diverting a public road and throwing the antient castle into his pleasure grounds, has added very considerably to the beauties of his residence. The approaches from *Chester* and *Mold* are peculiarly striking. *En.*

^o He died 1632. A gentleman well skilled in prints tells me, that these four pictures were engraven by *Rousselet*.

the reign of *Charles I.* and the succeeding usurpation. He was of the house of *Glynllivon* in *Caernarvonshire*; which derives itself from *Cilmin-Troed-ddu*, or *Cilmin* with the black foot, one of the fifteen tribes, and cotemporary with, and nephew to *Merfyn Frych*, prince of *Wales* in the year 818.

SIR JOHN GLYNNE was born at *Glynllivon*, in the year 1602; his father was Sir *William Glynne* knight; his mother a *Griffith* of *Caernarvon*. His education was after the best mode. His school was that of the college at *Westminster*; his academic learning was instilled into him at *Hart-hall, Oxford*; and his knowledge of the law at *Lincoln's-Inn*, where he became a bencher. His abilities were immediately discovered by the popular party, by whose influence he was made steward of *Westminster*, recorder of *London*, and twice elected member for the former, in the two parlements of 1640. He was, next to *Pym*, the most active manager against the earl of *Strafford*. The unfortunate peer remarked, that *Glynne* and *Maynard* treated him like advocates; *Palmer* and *Whitelock* like gentlemen; and yet omitted nothing material that could be urged against him^p. The author of *Hudibras* seems to catch at this part of the character of these two great lawyers:

CHIEF
JUSTICE
GLYNNE.

Did not the learned *Glynne* and *Maynard*,
To make good subjects traitors, strain hard!

^p *Whitelock*, 43.

IN the case of *Strafford*, and in that of the impeachment of the twelve bishops, they acted on principle. This appears evident from the prosecution they afterwards underwent, for the noble stand they made against the ruin of the constitution, planned, and afterwards effected by the army. On *September* the 8th 1647, they were expelled the house, committed to the Tower, and had a charge of high-treason brought against them^a. *Glynne* soon determined to submit to the rising powers. In the next year, he was restored to his place in the house; appointed one of the ten commissioners for carrying on the treaty with the king in the isle of *Wight*; and voted by the house to be a serjeant at law in the new call it thought fit to make. He, as well as the artful *Whitelock*, evaded all concern in the trial of the king: but afterwards temporised fully with the powers in being. *Cromwel* soon made him one of his council. In 1654, he was constituted chamberlain of *Chester*: in the following year, was (on the refusal of the chief justice *Rolles*) sent into the west with a commission to try colonel *Penruddock*, and the other insurgents^r. *Rolles* lost his place for his scruples; and in his room the serjeant was rewarded with the office of lord chief justice of the upper bench. He was grateful to

^a *Parliament. Hist.* xvi. 294. 512.

^r *Athene Oecon.* ii. 386.

his patron; for, being appointed of the committee to receive the protector's scruples about being made king, he urged the acceptance with the utmost zeal. It is amusing to compare the change of sentiment, from the year 1648, when the kingly office was voted to be unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous, with the opinion of 1657, when the learned serjeant tells *Cromwel*, that it is essential to the settlement of the nation^s. Notwithstanding the usurper did not dare to assume the name, he mimicked the powers; and honored his advocate with calling him up by writ into his house of peers; that motley assembly of the year 1657. The prudent lawyer maintained his ground till the year of the Restoration, when, by a masterpiece of cunning, he published in octavo, the arguments he had used to prevail with his former master to mount the throne, under the title of *MONARCHY asserted to be the best, the most antient, and legal form of government*. How flattering must this have been to the rightful prince, to find the antient mode acknowledged as most eligible (even after the long abuse of it in his family) by one of the ablest supporters of the protectorate?

WHETHER this recommended him to the new government, or whether he had made his peace before, is not certain. He was received by *Charles*

^s *Parliament, Hist.* xxi. 90.

with distinguished marks of favor, who not only knighted him, but bestowed on him the honor of prime serjeant, and even created his eldest son a baronet. In the convention parlement, he was elected for the county of *Caernarvon*; and was appointed one of the committee for examining the acts passed during the late usurpation, which were inconsistent with the present government; and how the many fines, recoveries, &c. made in the late courts of law, might be confirmed and rendered good. He had likewise a concern in the act of general pardon, and in all others in which the assistance of an able lawyer was requisite^t. But he had a merit superior to all these, that of establishing the first precedent reported in the books, of granting a new trial, on account of excessive damages given by the jury.

HE retired from the house in the following parlement; and lived till the year 1666, when he died in *London*, and was interred in his own vault, beneath the altar of St. *Margaret's* church, *Westminster*.

FROM *Hawarden* the land begins to slope towards the *Dee*. At the bottom, between the fifth and sixth stone from *Chester*, lies *Broughton*, formerly the property of the *Ravenscrofts*, and afterwards that of the *Hopes*. At the Conquest it was called *Brochetune*; and was held of *Hugh*

^t *Drake's Parlem. Hist.* xxii. 416.

Lupus, by *Robert de Roelent*, or *Rhuddland*. *Levenot*, a freeman, possessed it before. *Robert* also had a manor here, once held by a *Saxon* of the name of *Ulmer*.

CLOSE to the village of *Breton*, lies the large marsh of *Saltney*, which reaches within about a mile of *Chester*. It is at present divided by a mostⁿ excellent road, by whose side runs a small canal, cut by Sir *John Glynne*, for the conveyance of his coal into the *Dec* near the city. This tract was formerly granted by *Robert* lord of *Mold*, to the monks of *Basingwerk*, for pasturage; he also gave them the same privilege in *Hawarden*, and the liberty of cutting rushes for thatching their buildings^x. SALTNEY.

THE principal part of this common lies in *Flintshire*. The boundary is marked by a stone near the east end. It extends considerably on both sides. From the right flows the *Leeches*, a small brook, rising a little beyond *Doddleston*. That village lies out of my route; yet I mention it, as the place of interment of the honest chancellor *Egerton* lord *Ellesmere*, who preferred it out of affection to his first wife *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Thomas Ravenscroft*, esq.; of *Breton*. His mother had been a servant maid in the parish;

ⁿ An epithet it far from merits in 1809. The canal is disused. ED.

^x *Harleian MS.* N^o 2099. 9.

but was the daughter of one *Sparks*, of *Bickerton*. I have heard this remarkable anecdote of her, and the fortunate child. The mother had been so much neglected by Sir *Richard Egerton* of *Ridley*, the father of the boy, that she was reduced to beg for support. A neighboring gentleman, a friend of Sir *Richard*, saw her asking alms, followed by her child. He admired its beauty, and saw in it the evident features of the knight. He immediately went to Sir *Richard*, and layed before him the disgrace of suffering his own offspring, illegitimate as it was, to wander from door to door. He was affected with the reproof, adopted the child, and by a proper education, layed the foundation of its future fortune.

ANOTHER circumstance leads me to name this parish, humiliating as it is to a *Welchman*; for at *Balderton* bridge our countrymen met with a cruel defeat from *Hugh Cyrelioc* earl of *Chester*; who, by way of trophy, made a rampart of their heads.

AT the extremity of *Saltney*, within a mile of *Chester*, the land rises suddenly. On the left hand of the ascent are considerable hollows, with correspondent elevations: one has the appearance of a round bastion; which makes me conjecture, that they might have been works designed to command this pass into the country of the *Ordovices*; for it points towards *Varis*, *Conovium*, and *Segontium*.

CHESHIRE,

A part of the country of the *Cornavii*, commences CHESTER.
on the flat beneath this bank. The road is continued along the small common of *Over-leigh*, and ends at *Han-bridge*, the suburbs of *Chester*, on this side of the river, belonging to the parish of *St. Mary*.

THE approach to the city is over a very narrow and dangerous bridge, of seven irregular arches, till of late rendered more inconvenient by the ancient gateways at each end, formerly necessary enough, to prevent the inroads of my countrymen, who often carried fire and sword to these suburbs; which were so frequently burnt, as to be called by the *Britons Tre-boeth*, or the burnt town.

I SHALL begin my account of this respectable city, by declining the honor of asserting it to have been of *British* foundation, notwithstanding I have the authority of *Ranulph the Monk*, and of *Henry Bradshaw*, another religious of this city.

The founder of this city, as saith *Polychronicon*,
Was *Leon Gaure*, a mighty strong gyant;
Who builded caves and dungeons many a one,
No goodly building, ne proper, ne pleasant.
But king *Leir*, a *Britain* fine and valiant,
Was founder of *Chester* by pleasant building,
And was named *Guer-lier* by the king^z.

^z *Life of St. Werburg.*

CAER LLEON. YET this legend does not err greatly from the right name, *Caer lleon*, the camp of the legion. *Caer lleon fawr ar Ddyfrdwy*, the camp of the great legion on the *Dee*, being the head quarters of the twentieth legion, styled also *Valeria* and *Victrix*. This legion came into *Britain* before the year 61; for it had a share in the defeat of *Boadicea* by *Suetonius*. After this victory, the *Roman* forces were led towards the borders of *North Wales*, probably into this county. Afterwards, by reason of the relaxed state of discipline, a wing had been cut off by the *Ordovices*, just before the arrival of *Agricola*; but the quarters of these troops at that period are not exactly known. It is probable that part at least were on the *Dera*; that he collected a few of his forces, and began his march against the enemy from this place; and that, after his successful expedition into *Mona*, he determined to fix here a garrison, as the fittest place to bridle the warlike people he was about to leave behind him. In consequence, he fixed part of the legion here, and detachments in the neighboring posts, before he ventured on the distant expedition to *Scotland*, into which he led a body of his troops, as appears from the inscriptions found in the country; which prove that a *recallatio* of this legion was concerned in building a portion of the *Roman* wall. In order to encourage the troops he left behind, he formed here

a colony; and the place was styled from them, and from its situation, *Colonia Derana*, as is proved by the coin of *Septimius Geta*, son of *Severus*, which was thus inscribed:

COL. DEVANA leg. XX. VICTRIX.

It was also called simply *Dera*, from the river AND DEVA. which washed one side;

The antient hallowed DEE.

THE form of the city evinces its origin to have FOUR CHIEF STREETS. been *Roman*, being in the figure of their camps; with four gates; four principal streets; and a variety of lesser, crossing the others at right angles, so as to divide the whole into lesser squares. The walls, the precincts of the present city, mark the limits of the antient. No part of the old walls exist;⁽¹⁾ but they stood, like the modern, on the soft freestone rock, high above the circumjacent country, and *escarpès* on every front.

THE structure of the four principal streets is without parallel. They run direct from east to

(1) *Roman* masonry may be still recognized in the walls, particularly on the north side, between the *Phoenix* tower and the north-gate, and on the west side along the *Roadway*. The *Roman* city was less extensive than the area now included within the walls. The southern wall cut across the present city, running from a point near the distance chair in the Race-course, till it joined the wall on the eastern side, a little to the north of "the wishing steps." But the "shipgate" (now removed,) described by *Pennant*, and a *Roman* arch, still remaining, which impinges upon *Cæsar's* tower, attest the existence of some outwork overhanging the river, and intended probably to protect the passage. T.P.

EXCAVATED. west, and north to south; and were excavated out of the earth, and sunk many feet beneath the surface. The carriages drive far below the level of the kitchens, on a line with ranges of shops; over which, on each side of the streets, passengers walk from end to end, secure from wet or heat, in galleries (or *rows*, as they are called) purloined from the first floor of each house, open in front and balustraded. The back-courts of all these houses are level with the rows; but to go into any of those four streets, it is necessary to descend a flight of several steps.

THESE rows appear to me to have been the same with the antient *vestibules*; and to have been a form of building preserved from the time that the city was possessed by the *Romans*. They were built before the doors, midway between the streets and the houses; and were the places where dependents waited for the coming out of their patrons^a, and under which they might walk away the tedious minutes of expectation. *Plautus*, in the third act of his *Mostella*, describes both their situation and use:

Viden' vestibulum ante aedes, et ambulaerum ejusmodi?

The shops beneath the rows were the *cryptæ* and *apothecæ*, magazines for the various necessities of the owners of the houses.

^a De signif. vocab. *Vitruc.*

THE streets were once considerably deeper, as is apparent from the shops, whose floors lie far below the present pavement. In digging foundations for houses, the *Roman* pavement is often discovered at the depth of four feet beneath the modern. The lesser streets and alleys, which run into the principal streets, sloped to the bottoms of the latter, as is particularly visible in *Lower Bridge Street*; but these are destitute of the galleries or rows.

It is difficult to assign a reason for these hollowed ways. An antient historian mentions the existence, in his days, of certain vaults and passages, of which not a trace, nor even the lest memory is left, notwithstanding the most diligent search and enquiries have been made. *In this cyte*, says the author of the *Polychronicon*^b, *ben ways under erthe, with rowtes and stone-werke wonderly wrought; thre chambred werkes. Grete stones I grave with olde mennes names therin. There is also JULIUS CEZAR'S name wonderly in stones grave, and other noble mennes names also, with the wrytynge about*; meaning the altars and monumental inscriptions; but he probably mistakes the name of *Julius Cesar* for that of *Julius Agricola*; to whom, it is reasonable to suppose, some grateful memorial was erected. Unless these hollowed streets were formed by the void

GREAT
VAULTS.

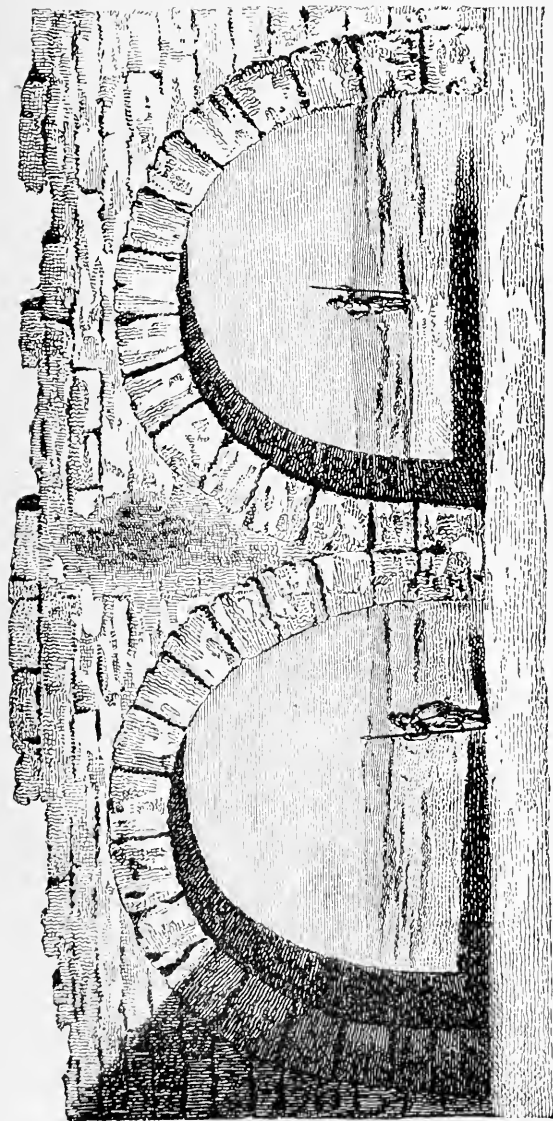
^b Fol. xlviij.

NOW LOST.

left after the destruction of these great vaults, I can no more account for their formation, than for the place which those antient *Souterreins* occupied. None have ever been discovered, by the frequent sinking of cellars for new buildings on the site of the old; tradition has delivered no such accounts to us; nor is their exit to be traced beneath the walls in any part of their circumference. The only vaults now known, are of a middle age, and which belonged either to the *hotels* of the great men, or to the religious houses dispersed through the city.

THE EAST
GATE, RO-
MAN.

OF the four gates of the city, one of them, the *East gate*, continued till of late years; of *Roman* architecture, and consisted of two arches, much hid by a tower, erected over it in later days. A few years ago it was pulled down, on account of its straitness and inconveniency, to give way to a magnificent gate, which rose in its place by the munificence of lord *Grosvenor*. I remember the demolition of the antient structure; and on the taking down the more modern case of *Norman* masonry, the *Roman* appeared full in view. It consisted of two arches, formed of vast stones, fronting the *East-gate* street and the *Forest* street: the pillar between them dividing the street exactly in two. The accurate representation of them by Mr. *Wilkinson*, of this city,



ROMAN GATE AT CHESTER.

will give a stronger idea than words can convey; as also of the figure of the *Roman* soldier, placed between the tops of the arches facing the *Forest* street.

THIS species of double gate was not unfrequent. The *Porta esquilina*^b, and the *Porte portese*^c at *Rome*, were of this kind. *Flores*, in his medals of the *Roman* colonies in *Spain*^d, exhibits one on the coins of *Merida*, the antient *Emerita*, particularly on those of *Augustus*, which shews, that the colonists were proud of their gate; and perhaps not without reason, as it appears to have been the work of the best age. I must conclude that the mode seems to have been derived from the *Grecian* architecture; for at *Athens* stood a *Dipylon*, or double gate, now demolished^e.

THE gate in question faced the great *Watling* street road, and near the place where other military ways united. Through this was the greatest conflux of people; which rendered the use of the double portal more requisite.

THE *Roman* bath beneath the *Feathers Inn*, in HYPOCAUST.
Bridge street, is probably still entire; but the only part which can be seen, by reason of the more modern superstructures, is the *Hypocaust*. This

^b *Montfaucon*, III. part ii. p. 177.

^c *Nardini*, *Roma Antica*, p. 37.

^d P. 384. tab. xxi. xxii. xxiii.

^e As I have been informed by my friend Mr. *Stuart*.

is of a rectangular figure, supported by thirty-two pillars, two feet ten inches and a half high, and about eighteen inches distant from each other. Upon each is a tile eighteen inches square, as if designed for a capital; and over them a perforated tile two feet square. Such are continued over all the pillars. Above these are two layers; one of coarse mortar, mixed with small red gravel, about three inches thick; and the other of finer materials, between four and five inches thick: these seem to have been the floor of the room above. The pillars stand on a mortar-floor, spread over the rock. On the south side, between the middle pillars, is the vent for the smoke, about six inches square, which is at present open to the height of sixteen inches. Here is also an anti-chamber, exactly of the same extent with the *Hypocaust*, with an opening in the middle into it. This is sunk near two feet below the level of the former, and is of the same rectangular figure; so that both form an exact square. This was the room allotted for the slaves who attended to heat the place; the other was the receptacle of the fuel designed to heat the room above, the *concamerata sudatio*^f, or sweating-chamber; where people were seated, either in niches, or on benches placed one above the other, during the time of the operation. Such was the object of this Hypocaust; for there were others of

^f *Vitruvius*, lib. v. c. 11.

different forms, for the purposes of heating the waters destined for the use of the bathers.

IN digging the foundations for the new houses in *Water-gate* street, in *January* 1779, was discovered another Hypocaust, but seemingly of greater extent. It contained two sudatories; one smaller, having only ten pillars on two sides, and a vacant space in the middle. Adjoined to it was a small apartment, with the walls plaistered, which probably was the room in which the slave stood, who supplied the place with fuel. Before these was a large chamber, with a tessellated pavement of black, white, and red tiles, about an inch square. On the further side was a subterraneous passage, possibly a drain. Adjoining to this is a sudatory, resembling that beneath the *Feathers Inn*; and beyond that is a small apartment, floored with tiles, four inches and a half by two and a half, set edge-ways. The large perforated tiles for conveying the steam, and the layers of mortar, the pillars, and other particulars, were found here as in the former. All which are now in the possession of *Philip Egerton, esq*; of *Oulton Park*.

I MUST now descend towards the bridge, in search of the few further reliques of the antient colonists. After passing through the gate, on the right, near some skinner's houses, is a small flight of steps, which leads to a large round arch, seemingly of *Roman* workmanship. It is now filled

with more modern masonry, and a passage left through a small arch of a very eccentric form.

ANTIENT
POSTERN.

On the left within the very passage, is the appearance of another round arch, now filled up. This postern is called the *Ship-gate*, or *Hole in the Wall*. This seems originally to have been designed for the common passage over the *Dee*, into the country of the *Ordovices*, either by means of a boat at high water, or by a ford at low, the river here being remarkably shallow. What reduces this to a certainty is, that the rock on the *Hanbridge* side is cut down, as if for the conveniency of travellers. And immediately beyond, in the field called *Edgar's*, are the vestiges of a road pointing up the hill; and which we shall have hereafter occasion to say, was continued toward *Bonium*, the present *Bangor*.

ROMAN
ROAD.

IN the front of a rock in the same field, and facing this relique of the *Roman* road, is cut a rude figure of the *Dea armigera*, MINERVA with her bird and altar. This probably was a sepulchral monument; for such were very usual on the sides of highways; but time or wantonness has erased all inscription.

SCULPTURE
OF MINERVA.

EDGAR'S PA-
LACE.

BEYOND this stood, past all memory, some antient buildings, whose site is marked by certain hollows; for the ground (probably over the vaults) gave way and fell in within the remembrance of persons now alive. Tradition calls the spot the

site of the palace of *Edgar*. Nothing is now left, from which any judgment can be formed, whether it had been a *Roman* building, as Dr. *Stukeley* surmises; or *Saxon*, according to the present notion; or *Norman*, according to *Braun*^a, who, in his antient plan of this city, styles the ruins, then actually existing, *Ruinosa domus Comitum Cestriensis*. Perhaps it might have been used successively by one of them; who added or improved according to their respective national modes.

HAVING had occasion to mention the name of a departed antiquary, I think fit to acknowledge my obligations for the many hints I have benefited by, from the travels of that great and lively genius; but at the same time lament, that I must say, I often find him *plus beau que la vérité*. His rapid fancy led him too frequently to paint things as he thought they ought to be, not what they really were. In the subject before us, this assertion may be supported, by his giving three arches to the antient *East-gate*^b, and hollow ways to every part of the city, where search has been made.

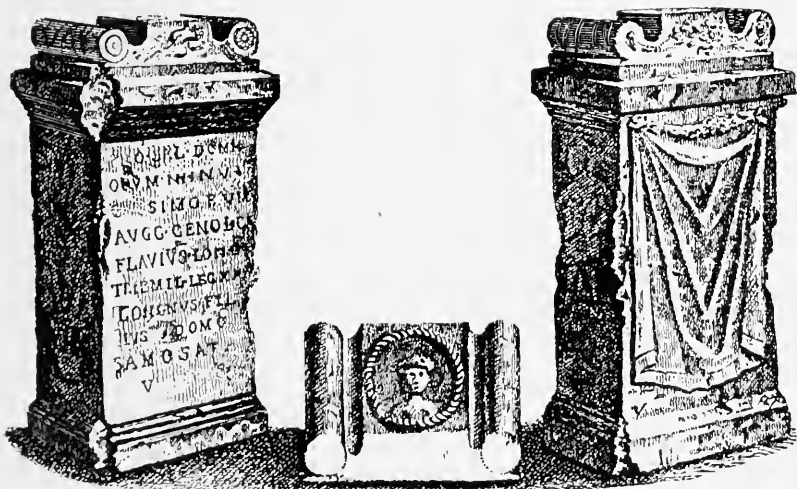
THE beautiful altar, in possession of Mr. *Dyson*, ALTAR.
and the soldier in the garden of Mr. *Lawton*, are the only pieces of detached antiquities now remaining in this city. The first is of great ele-

^a *Cicitates Orbis*, iii. pl. 3. This work was published in 1576.

^b *Stukeley Itin. Cur.* tab. 65.

gance, and was erected by *Flavius Longus*, tribune of the twentieth victorious legion, and by his son *Longinus*, in honor of the emperors *Diocletian* and *Maximian*. The father and son, who thus expressed their gratitude, were of *Samosata*, a city of *Syria*. On one side is the inscription, on the opposite is a curtain with a festoon above. On one of the narrower sides is a genius with a *cornucopia*; and on the other is a pot with a plant of the supposed *acanthus*, elegantly leaved. On the summit is a head included in a circular garland. I forgot to remark, that immediately over the inscription is a globe overtopped with palm-leaves. If this is not a general compliment to their victories, I should imagine it designed to express their particular successes in *Africa*, of which the palm-tree was a known emblem.

THIS was found in digging for a cellar near the *East-gate*, on the antient pavement, which consisted of great stones. Around it were found the marks of sacrifice; heads, horns, and bones of the ox, roe-buck, &c. and with them two coins; one of *Vespasian* in brass, with his head, inscribed IMP. CÆS. VESP. AUG. COSS. III. and on the reverse, VICTORIA AUGUSTI S. C. and a winged Victory standing. The other was of copper, inscribed round the head of *Constantius*, FL. VAL. CONSTANTIUS NOB. C.; and on the other side, GENIO POPULI ROMANI; alluding to a genius.



ALTARS FOUND AT CHESTER.

holding in one hand a sacrificing bowl, in the other a *cornucopia*.

IN 1779, near to the *Hypocaust* discovered in ANOTHER. that year, was found a beautiful altar, addressed by the family and freemen of a certain person, FORTUNÆ REDUCI ET ÆSCULAPIO. The inscription is much defaced. On the sides are the emblems of those deities, and various sacrificial instrumentsⁱ. This is also in possession of *Philip Egerton, esq.* In the same field were found a gold coin, with the laureated head of *Nero*, inscribed IMP. NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVS; on the reverse, *Jupiter* seated, with a thunderbolt in one hand, and a sceptre, inscribed IVPITER CVSTOS: a brass coin of *Domitian*, of *Vespasian*, *Victorinus*, and *Constantine*.

THE other antiquities discovered here are now dispersed; which obliges me to have recourse to books, in order to place them in one point of view.

THE first is the noted altar discovered in 1653, ANOTHER. at present preserved at *Oxford*. It is inscribed to *Jupiter*, with the *British* epithet *Taranus*, or the Thunderer, by the transposal of the letters *r* and *n* in the word *Taran*. This appears to have been complimentary to the *Britons*, by adopting the epithet in their language, instead of that of *Tonans*. The inscription (approved most by Mr. *Horsley*^j) runs thus:

ⁱ See *Moses Griffith's* ten supplemental plates. ^j Tab. 67. N° iii.

Jovi optimo maximo Tanaro
Titus Elupius Galeria
Præsens Guntia, Primipilus
Legionis vicesimæ Valentis.
Victricis Commodo et Laterano
 Consulibus votum solvit
 Lubens merito.

THE word *Guntia*, in the learned *Prideaux* and *Gale*^k, is read *Gunetha*, as if derived from *Gwynedd*, one of the *British* names of *North Wales*; over which they suppose *Elupius* had presided. This might account for his preference of the word *Tanaro*, as highly flattering to the vanity of those he governed.

STATUE OF
 MITHRAS.

THE next is a statue, in possession of the late Reverend Mr. *Prescot*, with a *Phrygian* bonnet on his head, a little mantle across his shoulders, and a short jacket on his body. He is placed standing, with a torch in his hands declining. This is supposed to have been *Mithras*, or the sun; a deity borrowed from the *Persians*, and much in vogue among the *Romans* in the second and third century^l. An inscription, DEO SOLI MITRÆ, has been discovered in *Cumberland*. The *Phrygian* bonnet marks him for a foreign deity. The declining torch shews the funebrious occasion of this stone.

MR. HORSELY mentions another stone, discovered in digging a cellar in *Water-gate street*,

^k *Gale's Comm.* 53.

^l *Horsely, Cumberland*, 259.

in 1729. The inscription is so imperfect, that he ingenuously confesses, that without the aid of fancy, it cannot be made out.

In 1738 was discovered, in digging the foundation of a house, a fragment of a slaty stone, on which was cut the figure of a *Retiarius*; a species of gladiator, who fought furnished with a trident and a net; with the last he entangled his adversary, with the trident slew him.

Movet ecce tridentem
Postquam vibrata pendentia retia dextra
Nequicquam effudit ^m.

His antagonist was called *Secutor*. He was armed with a long shield, and a dagger: and seems to have been sure of victory, in case the *Retiarius* missed his throw. The stone is so mutilated, that only part of the shield of the *Secutor* is preserved.

A FEW bricks, with the number of the legion stationed here, fill the list of the *Roman* antiquities of the place. I say nothing of the inscription DEÆ NYMPHÆ BRIGANTES, preserved by Mr. *Gale*, it being justly disputed whether it belonged to this place.

I MUST not omit the most valuable memorial which the *Romans* left, in a particular manner, to this county; the art of cheese-making: for we are

CHEESE-
MAKING.

^m *Juvenal, Sat. viii. lin. 203.*—The manner of fighting is given among the prints of the Antiquarian society. I have a cast in plaster from the stone.

expressly told, that the *Britons* were ignorant of it till the arrival of the *Romans*. The *Cestrians* have improved so highly in this article, as to excel all countries, not excepting that of *Italy*, the land of their antient masters.

THE LEGION
QUITS THIS
STATION.

THE twentieth legion was recalled from *Britain* before the writing of the *Notitia*, it not being mentioned in that work, which was composedⁿ about the year 445. It is supposed also to have been withdrawn from *Chester* before the retreat of the *Romans* from this island, its name being found at *Bath* among some of the latest inscriptions we have^o. The city must not at that period be supposed to have been totally deserted; it remained occupied by the descendants of the legionaries, who partook of the same privileges, and were probably a numerous body. Numbers likewise, who had married with the native islanders, and embraced civil employs, in all likelihood stayed behind after the final abdication of *Britain* by the legions in 448. After this, the city fell under the government of the *Britons*, till their conquest was entirely effected by the new invaders the *Saxons*.

SAXON
PERIOD.

BRITAIN, now left defenceless, quickly experienced all the calamities that could be inflicted on it from a foreign and barbarous people. While *Hengist* and *Horsa* poured in their troops upon

ⁿ *Horsley*, 473.

^o *Ibid.* 85.

the south, another set of banditti landed in *Wales*, from their settlements in the *Orcades* and the north of *Scotland*. These, with their allies the *Picts*, were defeated near *Mold*, by the Christian *Britons*, headed by St. *Germanus*. I mention this out of course, merely to shew, that the probable rest that *Dewa* enjoyed for another century, was owing to this victory, which, obtained seemingly in a miraculous manner, discouraged for a long space of time any new attempts.

THE fate of this city was at length decided in 607^p, when *Ethelfrid* king of *Northumbria* resolved to add this rich tract to his dominions. He was opposed by *Brochuvel Yscythroc* king of *Powys*, who collected hastily a body of men, probably depending on the intervention of Heaven, as in the case of the *victoria alleluistica*; for that end, he called to his aid one thousand two hundred religious from the great convent of *Bangor*, and posted them on a hill in order that he might benefit by their prayers. *Ethelfrid* fell in with this pious corps, and, finding what their business was^q, put them to the sword without mercy. He made an easy conquest of *Brochuvel*, who, as the *Saxon* chronicle^r informs us, escaped with about fifty men. It appears that *Ethelfrid*, after pillaging the city, left it to the former owners, and con-

ETHELFRID,
607.

BATTLE OF
CHESTER.

^p *Sax. Chron.* 25.

^q *Bede Hist.* ii. c. 2.

^r *P.* 25.

tented himself with the territory, till it was wrested from his kingdom by that of *Mercia*.

WE are left unacquainted with the history of *Chester* for a long period. The *Britons* seem to have continued in possession of it, and it was considered to be the capital city of *Venedotia*, or *North Wales*, till it was finally wrested out of their hands by *Egbert*, about the year 828, during the reign of the *British* prince *Mervyn* and his wife *Esyllt*^s; which contracted the limits of *Wales*, during the remainder of its independent existence.

THE DANES
WINTER
HERE, 895.

IN a few years after, it underwent a heavy calamity from the *Danes*. These pirates, the scourge of the kingdom, meeting with a severe defeat by *Alfred the Great*, retreated before him; and in their flight collecting vast numbers of their countrymen, committed the care of their wives, their ships, and their booty to the *East Angles*, and marched night and day to secure quarters in the west. They seized on *Legaceaster* before the king could overtake them. He besieged them about two days, destroyed all the cattle he could find about the town, partly burnt, and partly caused the standing corn to be destroyed by his cavalry, and slew all the *Danes* whom he found without the walls^t. These invaders kept possession of the town part of the winter; but, compelled by famine,

^s *Powel*, 27.

^t *Sax. Chr.* 102.—*Flores Hist.* anno 908. p. 269.

evacuated it the beginning of 895, and took their course through *North Wales*, which the same cause obliged them suddenly to quit.

EVACUATE
THE PLACE.

AFTER the evacuation of the city by the *Danes*, it continued in ruins till the year 907 or 908; when the *Saxon Chronicle*, and all our antient historians agree, that it was restored by the celebrated *Ethelfleda*^u.

THIS lady is so frequently mentioned in the *Mercian* history, that it will not be impertinent to give a brief account of her. She was the undegenerate daughter of the great *Alfred*, and the wife of *Ethelred* earl of *Mercia*, under his brother-in-law *Edward* king of *England*. On the birth of her first child^x, she separated herself from her husband, and for the rest of her days, like an *Amazon* of old, determined on a life of chastity, and devoted herself to deeds of arms. She kept on the best terms with her husband; they united in all acts of munificence and piety; restored cities, founded abbies, and removed to more suitable places the bones of long-departed saints.

HER HIS-
TORY.

AFTER the death of her husband, in 912, she assumed the government of the *Mercian* earldom,

^u *Ramulf. Higden in Gale*, iii. 260.

^x Pariendo suam sobolem primam difficultatem perpessa, tanta indignatione carnalem concubitum abhorruit, ut nunquam deinceps ad viri sui thorum rediens, se cælebatu castissimo contineret. *Ingulphi Hist.* 871.

and the command of the army. She became so celebrated for her valour, that the effeminate titles of Lady or Queen were thought unworthy of her: she received in addition those of LORD and KING.

O ELFLEDA potens, O terror virgo virorum
 Victrix naturæ, nomine digna viri.
 Tu quo splendidior fieres, natura puellam,
 Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri.
 Te mutare decet, sed solum nomine sexus,
 Tu *Regina* potens, *Rexque* trophæa parans,
 Nec jam *Cæsarei* tantum meruere triumphi,
Cæsare splendidior virgo virago vale [†].

ELFLEDA, terror of mankind!
 Nature, for ever unconfin'd,
 Stamp't thee in woman's tender frame,
 Tho' worthy of a hero's name.
 Thee, thee alone, the Muse shall sing,
 Dread EMPRESS and victorious KING!
 E'en *Cæsar's* conquests were out-done
 By thee, illustrious *Amazon!*

R. W.

THE heroine appears well to have merited this eulogium. Her abilities and activity were perpetually exerted in the service of her country. She erected a castle at *Sceargate*; another at *Briege*, the modern *Bridgenorth*; and a third at *Tamweor-thige*, or *Tamworth*; a fourth at *Stafford*; a fifth at *Eudesbyrig*, now the chamber in the forest in *Cheshire*; a sixth at *Wæringwic*, or *Warwick*; a seventh at *Cyricbyrig*, or *Chirbury*; an eighth at *Weardbyrig*, or *Wedsburrow*, in *Staffordshire*;

[†] *Henry Huntingdon*, lib. v. p. 354.

and a ninth at *Rumcof*, or *Runcorn*, in *Cheshire*. She took *Brecenanmere*, or *Brecknock*, and made its queen prisoner; she stormed *Deoraby*, or *Derby*, but lost four *Thanes* within the place: and finally, she restored the city of *Legerceaster*, after its desolation by the barbarians; rebuilt the walls; and, as some pretend, enlarged the city so greatly as to include the castle, which before stood without the antient precincts. Death put an end to her glorious course, at *Tamworth*^z, in the summer of 922, from whence her body was translated to *Gloucester*. Her loss was regretted by the whole kingdom, and by none so sensibly felt as by her brother *Edward*; for she was as useful to that wise prince in the cabinet as in the field.

DEATH.

EDGAR made this port one of the stations in his annual circumnavigation of his dominions. The year 973 is noted for the league he made here with six petty kings, who engaged to assist him by sea and by land in all his undertakings. This is the fact, as related by the *Saxon Chronicle*^a. The same is mentioned, perhaps copied from the former, by *Henry of Huntingdon*; but *Higden*, the monk of *St. Werburg*, to do greater honor to his native city, makes the number of *Reguli* eight; and adds, that, in token of superiority, *Edgar*, one day entering his barge, assumed the helm, and made his eight tributaries row him from the palace, which

^z *Sax. Chr.* 109.^a P. 122.—*Henry Huntingdon*, 336.

stood in the field which still bears his name, up the *Dec*, to the church of St. *John*, and from thence back to his palace^b.

EDMUND
IRONSIDES.

IN the following century, the invasions of the *Danes* were conducted with so much policy as to induce the factious and traiterous nobility of *England* to rise and favor their designs. *Edmund*, surnamed *Ironsides*, took arms to relieve his distressed country, and carried the war into the northern counties, among which lay the principal partizans of the invaders, whose country he ravaged, in resentment of their treason. This city is mentioned among those which suffered. *Edmund*, by the perfidiousness of his own people, was constrained to leave both the *Mercian* and *Northumbrian* kingdoms in possession of *Canute*; who, in the famous partition of *England* between these rival princes, in 1016, retained those parts for his own share.

CANUTE,
1016.

1057.

ON the restoration of the *Saxon* line, it reverted, with the rest of the *Mercian* province, to its old masters. *Leofric*, a munificent nobleman, was at that time governor of *Mercia*, and earl of *Chester*. These earls were not created, but merely official. He died 1057, and was succeeded by his son *Alfgar* or *Algar*, a turbulent nobleman; who engaging in rebellion, aided by the *Welsh* prince

^b *Polychron. in Gale*, iii. 267.

Gryffydd ap Llewelyn, was twice deprived of his earldom, and was once pardoned. After his second deprivation, he obtained again the province by dint of arms, assisted by *Gryffydd* and a *Norwegian* fleet. He died soon after, and was interred in *Coventry*, where the earls of *Mercia* had their principal seat.

HIS eldest son *Edwin* succeeded; in whom ended the race of earls of *Chester* of *Saxon* blood. After the battle of *Hastings*, he fled, with his brother *Morcar* earl of *Northumberland*, to *London*, with a view of obtaining the crown, vacant by the death of *Harold*. Being disappointed in his hopes, he took his sister *Algitha*, widow to the slain monarch, and sent her to *Chester*; and endeavored to escape to *Malcolm* king of *Scotland*, but was intercepted by the way and slain.

NORMAN
CONQUEST,
1066.

ENGLAND now experienced a total change of masters. The Conqueror, in order at once to secure his new dominions, and to reward his followers, bestowed on them the lands of the noble *Saxons*. He wisely divided the provinces, which had hitherto been ruled by a few great men, into lesser portions; and by this means broke the power which before often braved the throne. *Mercia*, heretofore under the government of a duke or earl, and ruled by what was called, in the *Saxon* phrase, the *Merchenlege*, received in many cases a distinct master. *Cheshire* became the share of

POST-CON-
QUEST EARLS
OF CHESTER.

Gherbod, a valiant *Fleming*. By misfortune he fell into the hands of his enemies (being called into *Flanders*) soon after he had taken possession of his new territories, and by reason of a long captivity was obliged to resign them to another. The Conqueror, in his place, appointed *Hugh de Aurange*, better known by the name of *Hugh Lupus*; the first *Norman* earl of *Chester* who ever possessed the county. To him he delegated a fullness of power; made his a *county palatine*, and gave it such a sovereign jurisdiction, that the ancient earls kept their own parlements; and had their own courts of law, in which any offence against the dignity of the sword of *Chester* was as cognizable, as the like offence would have been at *Westminster* against the dignity of the royal crown; for *William* allowed *Lupus* to hold this county *tam liberè ad gladium, sicut ipse REX tenebat Angliam ad coronam*. The sword by which he was invested with this dignity is still to be seen in the *Museum*, inscribed *Hugo comes Cestrie*. Another inferior office was also held by the earls, by virtue of this sword; that of sword-bearer of *England* at the times of coronation^e.

LUPUS instantly took possession of his dominions. It is probable that he was invested in them by *William* himself; for we find the Conqueror at

^e *Leicester*, 105.

Chester in person in 1069, where he repelled the *Welsh*, and finally reduced the *Mercian* province, which appears to have been in arms to this period^d. At the same time he restored the walls and built the castle; the former having either fallen into decay since the days of *Ethelfleda*, or not being thought sufficiently strong for the exigencies of the times.

As soon as *Lupus* was firmly established, he began to exert his regal prerogatives. He formed his parlement by the creation of eight barons, *viz.* *Nigel*, baron of *Halton*; *Robert*, of *Montalt*; *William Malbedeng*, baron of *Nantwich*; *Vernon*, of *Shipbrook*; *Fitzhugh*, of *Malpas*; *Hamon de Mascie*; *Venables*, of *Kinderton*; and *Nicholas*, of *Stockport*. These were to assist the earl with their advice: *Ego comes HUGO et mei BARONES*, was the form of his writs. They were obliged to pay him attendance, and to repair to his court to give it the greater dignity. They were bound, in time of war with *Wales*, to find for every knight's-fee a horse with caparison and furniture, or two without furniture, in the division of *Cheshire*. Their knights and freeholders were to have corselets and habergeons, and were to defend their lands with their own bodies. Every baron had also four esquires; every esquire one gentleman; and every

^d *Ordericus Vitalis*, lib. iv. p. 516.

gentleman one valet^c. Each of these barons had also their free courts of all pleas and suits, and all plaints, except what belonged to the earl's *sword*. They had besides power of life and death. The last instance of the exertion of this power was in the person of *Hugh Stringer*, who was tried for murder in the baron of *Kinderton's* court, and executed in 1597^d.

THE earls had their chamberlain, who supplied the place of chancellor; an office continued to this day. The first we know of was *Philippus Camerarius*, who took his name from his office, in the time of *Randle Gernouns* earl of *Chester*. Here is a baron of the exchequer, and other officers conformable to those of the crown at *Westminster*: also justices, before whom the causes which of their nature should otherwise belong respectively to the courts of king's-bench and common-pleas, are triable^e.

IN imitation of regal power, the earls appointed a high constable of *Cheshire*, correspondent to the high constable of *England*; which was held in fee by the baron of *Halton*, who by virtue of this office took place of the other barons; and the baron of *Montalt* had precedence (after him) by virtue of his office in fee, of high steward.

^c *Erdeswicke's MSS.* quoted by Doctor *Gower*, p. 22.

^d Doctor *Gower's* Materials, &c. p. 22.

^e *Leicester*, 152.

ROBERT DE ROTHELENT was another baron, who was commander in chief of the forces in *Cheshire*, and prime governor of the county under his cousin *Hugh Lupus*. As his office and rank dropt with him, he is not reckoned among the barons. Probably the office was found unnecessary, and clashing with the priveleges of the high constable.

THIS species of government continued from the Conquest till the reign of *Henry III.* a period of about 174 years; when, in 1237, on the death of *John Scot* (the seventh earl of the *Norman* line) without issue male, *Henry* took the earldom into his own hands, and gave the daughters of the late earl other lands in lieu; unwilling, as he said, that so great an inheritance should *be parcelled out among distaffs*. The king bestowed the county on his son *Edward*, who did not assume the title; which he afterwards bestowed on his son *Edward of Caernarvon*, first *English* prince of *Wales*.

THE EARL-
DOM RESU-
MED BY THE
CROWN.

AFTER the resumption of the earldom by the crown, the government of the city assumed a new form; for in the year 1242, the 26th of *Henry III.* it appears to have first been under the direction of a mayor and sheriffs. The mayor seems to have been the substitute for the constable; an office which, during the period of the *Norman* earls, was, under them, supreme in all matters military and civil, in both city and county. The

sheriffs seem to have been a new name for bailiffs, who acted under the former^h.

AFTER offering a general idea of the state of this place and county to the time of *Henry III.* I shall return to the time of *Hugh Lupus*, and give, to the best of my power, a brief chronological account of its history; leaving the ecclesiastical part to be treated apart.

GUILD MERCATORY. IN the days of that potent earl, and probably long before he was possessed of this city, it enjoyed by prescription divers priveleges. It had a *guild mercatory*ⁱ, analogous to a modern corporation; so that no person who was not of that society could exercise any trade or carry on any commerce within its precinct. Such was the state in which the *Normans* found it, which the earls afterwards confirmed under their seals.

Two overseers, selected out of the most respectable citizens, were appointed to maintain the rights of this *guild*. They received, for the use of the city, all the customs paid by strangers unless at the fairs, which in those days were said to have been held three times in the year. These officers were probably of the same nature as the deans of *guild* in *Scotland*. It appears also from the *Doomsday book*, that here was a supreme officer,

^h *Vale royal*, 161.

ⁱ *Vale royal*, 157.

called the *Præpositus Regis*, or provost, who had the care both of the civil and commercial interests.

It is difficult to say at this time what were the articles of exportation, excepting slaves and horses. The first barbarous traffic was carried on by the *Saxons* to a great height. The description of the mart^k is an exact picture of the *negro* commerce at present; so little have we emerged from barbarism in that instance^l.

EXPORTS.

SLAVES.

HORSES were another article; but their exportation was prohibited, except they were designed for presents, by a law of *Athelstan*. But these, as well as several others, such as metals, hides, dogs, and chalk, were probably still exported, as in the times of the *Romans*. *Chester* was admirably situated for supplying all these articles, excepting the last. The frequent wars carried on

HORSES,
HIDES, &c.

^k There is a town called *Briçhestou* (*Bristol*) opposite to *Ireland*, and extremely convenient for trading with that country. *Wulfstan* induced them to drop a barbarous custom, which neither the love of God nor the king could prevail on them to lay aside. This was the mart for slaves, collected from all parts of *England*; and particularly young women, whom they took care to provide with a pregnancy, in order to enhance their value. It was a most moving sight to see, in the public markets, rows of young people of both sexes tied together with ropes; of great beauty, and in the flower of their youth, daily prostituted, daily sold. Execrable fact! wretched disgrace! Men, unmindful even of the affection of the brute creation! delivering into slavery their relations, and even their very offspring. *Vita S. Wulfstan*, in *Anglia Sacra* ii. 258. *Wulfstan* was bishop of *Worcester*, and died in 1095.

^l A national reproach from which *England* is now most happily exempt. ED.

with the *Welsh*, furnished them with slaves; if those were wanting, their neighbors of the *Northumbrian* kingdom were ready to dispose of their nearest relations^m. The rich plains of *Cheshire* furnished horns and hides; and the *Cam-brian* mines, lead and copper.

CHEESE. CHEESE must not be omitted, as a most important article; for the *Britons* made so considerable a progress in the arts of the dairy, that even under the *Roman* reign there was great exportation of cheeses for the use of the *Roman* armies; in which this county doubtlessly had the greatest share.

IMPORTS. THE imports were the spices and other luxuries of the east, procured either from *Venice*, or afterwards from the cities of *Pisa* and *Amalfi*ⁿ, the magazines of the precious *Asiatic* commodities.

CLOTH, LINEN. RELIQUES. CLOTH was brought from *Flanders*, and linen from *Germany*^o; reliques and ecclesiastical finery from *Italy*^p, the staple of superstition. Rich armour was another considerable article; for war and religion created in these ages the most important commerce of the state. The warriors and the sainted images were the beaux of the time; the crimes of the former were supposed to be readily expiated by prostration to the latter; and

^m *Willielm. Malmesb.* in script. post *Bedam*, p. 17.

ⁿ *Anderson*, i. 58, 59.

^o *Anderson*, i. 52. ^p *Bedæ Hist. Abb. Weremouth*, 295, 297.

acceptance was announced by the priest in proportion to the value of the offering.

FRANCE and *Spain* supplied them with wine; and the discovery made towards the north by *Ohthere*, under the directions of *Alfred*, gave us furs, whale-bone, feathers, walrus teeth, and other articles from that cold region^a. Martins skins are twice mentioned in the Domesday book, among the imports of *Chester*. *Ireland* might also supply them with furs, and several other commodities; this being the channel of communication on that side of the kingdom, and the great mart for the *Irish* commodities. A sensible but uncouth poem, about the year 1430, published in *Hakluyt*, i. 199, gives us a list of its articles of commerce:

WINE.

FURS.

Hides and fish, salmon, hake, herringe,
Irish wooll, and linnen cloth, faldinge,
 And martens good be her marchandie,
 Hertes hides and other of venerie.
 Skinnes of otter, squirrel, and *Irish* hare
 Of sheepe, lambe, and foxe, is her chaffare,
 Felles of kiddes, and conies great plentie.

It is certain that *Chester* had long been a celebrated port. It appears to have been a station for the *Saxon* navy, and frequently the seat of the court of the *Mercian* kingdom, both during the Heptarchy, and after it became a province at the general union under *Egbert*.

^a Translation of *Orosius*, by the honorable DAINES BARRINGTON, 9, 12, 13.

THE state of this city, in the time of *Edward* the Confessor, and at the Conquest, must be collected from the famous survey the *Doomsday* book.

It appears, that in the time of the *Saxon* monarch here were four hundred and thirty-one houses which were taxable, besides fifty-six that belonged to the bishop: that it yielded ten marks of silver and a half; two parts to the king, and the third to the earl: that whenever the king came in person, he claimed from every plough-land two hundred *hesthas*, one *cuna* of ale, and one *rusca* of butter^r: that if any persons made bad ale, they were either to sit in a chair full of dung, or pay four shillings: that there were twelve judges in the city, and seven mint-masters: that whenever repairs were wanting for the walls or the bridge, notice was given for one man out of every hideland in the county to appear; and in case of absence, he was fined forty shillings, to be divided between the king and the earl: and that the city was so depopulated when *Hugh Lupus* took possession, that there were two hundred and five houses fewer than in the time of the Confessor.

It is probable that the city soon emerged from its calamities, and felt a considerable increase

^r *Hestha* is supposed to be a capon; *cuna* a brewing tub or vat. I do not find *rusca* explained.

Rusca is a tub or barrel, thus *Rusca butyai* signifies a firkin of butter. ED.

under its new masters, a more polished race; for the *Normans* affected as much elegance in their dress and their buildings, as they did temperance in their meat and drink. The example of a magnificent warrior, such as the new earl, was quickly copied. His court, and that of his successors, rendered it the most considerable place in these parts.

ACCORDING to *Lucian*^s, a jolly monk who flourished about the time of the Conquest, its commerce was very considerable. He speaks of the ships ‘coming from *Gascoign, Spain, Ireland, and Germany*, who, by GOD’s assistance, and by the ‘labour and conduct of mariners, repair hither and ‘supply them with all sorts of commodities; so ‘that being comforted with the favour of GOD in ‘all things, *we drink wine plentifully*; for those ‘countries have abundance of vineyards.’

HERE, in 1159, *Henry II.* and *Malcolm* the 1159.
IVth of *Scotland* had their interview; and the important cession was made to *Henry* by the latter, of the three counties of *Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland*, formerly wrested from the *English* crown^t.

BALDWIN, archbishop of *Canterbury*, in 1188, 1188.
visited this place, in his road from *Wales*, where his zeal led him to recommend the *Croisade* to the

^s Quoted by *Camden*, i. 672.

^t *Fordun*, i. 449.

mountaneers, assisted by the eloquent and vain *Giraldus*. All the historian takes notice of in this respectable city is, that *Constance* countess of *Chester* kept a herd of milch hinds, made cheeses of their milk, and presented three to the archbishop: that he saw an animal, a compound of an ox and stag; a woman born without arms, who could sew as well with her feet as others of her sex did with their fingers; and finally, that he heard of a litter of whelps begotten by a monkey". As *Giraldus* was a great dealer in presages, it is wondrous he made no use of all these portents: probably no signal event happened in these parts in his days, to which they could be applied.

1255.

THE next remarkable occurrences were the ravages of *Llewelyn ap Gryffydd*, prince of *Wales*, who carried fire and sword to the very gates of *Chester*, and destroyed every thing around on both sides of the river; provoked by the cruel injuries his subjects sustained from *Geffrey Langley*, lieutenant of the county under prince *Edward*^x.

THIS city seems to have been a constant rendezvous of troops, and *place d'armes* for every expedition on this side of the kingdom, from the times of the *Normans* to the conquest of *Ireland* by *William III.* In 1257, *Henry III.* summoned

^x *Itin. Camb.* c. xi. p. 87.

^x *Walsingham*, p. 467; who places this event in 1255.

his nobility^y to attend with their vassals at *Chester* on a certain day, in order to invade *Wales*, and revenge the inroads of the *Welsh*; and the bishops^z were at the same time required to appear there on the same occasion.

EDWARD I. in 1275, appointed this city as the 1275.
place of receiving the homage of *Llewelyn*, to which that high-spirited prince declining to submit^a, brought on the war, which concluded with the destruction of him and his principality.

AND in this city was received, in 1300, the final 1300.
submission of the *Welsh* to the sovereignty of *England*, by *Edward* of *Caernarvon* prince of *Wales*, when the freeholders of the country did homage and fealtie for their respective lands^b.

RICHARD II. visited the capital of his favorite 1379.
and loyal county; and did it the distinguished honor of converting it into a principality, and annexing to it the castle of *Holt*, the lordship of *Bromefield* and *Yale*, *Chirkland*, and several other places in *Wales* and on the borders. But *Henry* IV. in his fourth year, rescinded an act that in-croached so much on the dignity of his son as prince of *Wales*^c.

HENRY IV. in 1399, seized the city and castle, 1399.
in his way to *Flint* against his ill-fated sovereign

^y *Rymer*, i. 635.

^z *Idem*, 636.

^a *Powel*, 333. *Rymer*, ii. 53. 68.

^b *Powel*, 382.

^c *Statutes at Large*, 21 *Rich.* II. c. 9.

Richard II. and on his return secured him for one night in the fortress, and barbarously put to death *Sir Perkin a Legh*, and other gentlemen, whom he took with their unfortunate master.

DURING the insurrection of *Glyndwr*, this city was made a rendezvous of the royal forces, and a *place d'armes*. It does not appear that our countryman ever made any attempt on it, notwithstanding numbers of the gentry of this gallant county favored his cause^d. But the country was unhappily divided; and continued so during the civil wars that raged between the houses of *York* and *Lancaster*. The spirited *Margaret*, in order to keep up the interest of her party, made a progress into the county in 1455, and visited this city^e. In 1459, soon before the battle of *Blore-heath*, she made another, and took with her the *Meek Usurper*, her husband *Henry VI.* and her son *Edward*. She kept a public table wherever she went; and bestowed on the *Cheshire* gentlemen, that espoused her cause, little silver swans, the badge of the young prince, as the cognisance of the *Lancastrians*^f. She appointed *James* lord *Audley* to command the *Cheshire* forces. *Michael Drayton* gives an animated description of the effects of civil discord on this occasion: he acquaints us that *Audley*

^d *Rymer*, viii. 333.

^e *Vale royal*, 185.

^f *Speed's Hist.* 858.

So labour'd, till that he had brought
 That t'half of one house 'gainst the other fought.
 So that two men arising from one bed
 Falling to talk, from one another fly;
 This wears a white rose, and that wears a red;
 And this a YORK, that LANCASTER doth cry:
 HE wish'd to see that AUDLEY well had sped;
 He prays again to prosper SAL'SBURY.
 AND for their farewel, when their leaves they take,
 THEY their sharp swords at one another shake^s.

DANIEL KING tells us, that *Edward* prince of Wales, son to *Edward* IV. came to *Chester* before Christmas 1475, and was immediately conveyed to the castle with great triumph. *Edward* must have designed this only as a compliment to his friends in these parts, his son being at this time a child of four years of age. Such marks of royal favour were not unfrequent. *Henry* VII. and his queen came here in 1493; and *Henry* sent his son *Arthur* to visit the place in 1497.

THIS city had also its share in the calamitous distempers of the times. In 1506, it was visited by that endemic disorder the *sweating-sickness*, which destroyed, in three days, ninety-one householders. The remark, of this destroying-angel's respect to the female sex, was verified here; for only four perished.

IN 1517, it was followed by the pestilence, when such numbers died, and such numbers fled, that the streets of the city were overgrown with grass.

^s *The Miseries of Queen Margaret*, part iv.

1529. It appears that the citizens of *Chester* were not less celebrated for their dramatic performances than those of *Coventry*^h. They exhibited two species; one formed upon moral romance, the other on scriptural history. In 1529 they enacted at the high-cross the play of *Robert kyng of Cicyle*, or *Robert le Diable*, borrowed from the *French* morality of that name.

Here is of kyng *Robert* of *Cicyle*,
Hou pride did him beguileⁱ.

ROBERT, like another *Nebuchadnezzar*, thought himself beyond the power of any being, divine or human. Heaven, in order to humble him, causes a deep sleep to fall on him in church: when the congregation is dismissed, an angel assumes his form, and deceives his attendants, who follow the angelic king into the palace, where he takes *Robert's* place. *Robert* awakes; runs to his palace; is disowned; seized as an impostor, and at last appointed *fool of the hall* to the new king; and,

Cloathed in lodly^k garnement
With ffoxes tayles mony aboute
Men mihte him knowen in the route.

After a very long and ignominious penance, the angel finds *Robert* effectually cured of his pre-

^h *Dugdale*, i. 249.

ⁱ *Mr. Warton's Hist. Poetry*, i. 184. *Daniel King* calls it the play of *Robert Cecil*.

^k Loathsome.

sumption, quits his mission, and restores the poor king to his throne.

THE year 1532 reminds me of the religious dramas being performed in this city. These are the famous interludes known by the name of *Mysteries*, originally composed in the years 1327 and 1328, by *Randal Higgenet*, a monk of *Chester* abbey, as this prologue acquaints us.

1532.
WHITSON
PLAYS.

Reverend lords and ladyes alle,
That at this tyme assembled be;
By this messuage understand you shall,
That some tymes ther was mayor of this citie
Sir *John Arnway*, knight; who most worthilye
Contented himselfe to set out in playe
The devise of one *Done Rondall*, moonke of *Chester* abbey.

RONDAL, it seems, first composed these Mysteries in *Latin*, and took true pains to obtain leave to exhibit them in an *English* dress, having made three journies to *Rome* for his Holiness's permission¹. Others again were the labors of Sir *Henry Frances*, another monk, as appears by the proclamation for the *Whitson* plays in this year, made by the clerk of the *Pentice*, setting forth, that in

‘ Oulde tyme, not only for the augmentation and
‘ increes of the holy and catholick faith, and to ex-
‘ ort the minds of the common people to good
‘ deuotion and holsome doctrine, but also for the
‘ commonwelth of this citty, a play and declaration

¹ *Harleian MSS.* 2124.

‘ of divers storyes of the Bible, beginning with the
 ‘ creacion, and fall of *Lucifer*, and ending with
 ‘ the generall judgement of the world, to be de-
 ‘ clared and played in the *Whitsonne* weeke, was
 ‘ devised and made by Sir *Henry Frances*, some-
 ‘ tyme moonke there; who gat of *Clement*, then
 ‘ bushop of *Rome*, 1000 dayes of pardon, and of
 ‘ the bushop of *Chester* at that tyme, 40 dayes of
 ‘ pardon, to every person resorting in peaceable
 ‘ maner to heare the sayd playes; which were in-
 ‘ stituted to the honor of God by *John Arnway*,
 ‘ then major of *Chester*, his brethren and whole
 ‘ cominalty thereof; to be brought forth, de-
 ‘ clared, and played, at the cost and charges of the
 ‘ craftesmen and occupations of the sayd citty, &c.
 ‘ &c.^m’

THESE plays had probably been dropt for a considerable time; which occasioned the proclamation, in the reign of that pageant-loving prince *Henry VIII.* Forty-three years had elapsed since the last performance of this nature, when the *Assumption of our Lady* was played before his brother *Arthur*, at the abby-gates of this city.

THESE Mysteries were the rude origin of the *English* theatre. Our drama, as the very ingenious Mr. *Warton* remarks, was in early times confined entirely to religious subjects; and these plays were

^m *Harleian MSS.* 2013.

nothing more than an appendage to the specious and mechanical devotion of the ageⁿ. I refer the reader to that gentleman's amusing history of the rise and progress of these performances; and confine myself to a few specimens of the gross and ridiculous exhibitions of the times; when the audience listened with the fullest admiration and devotion to what would at present fill a theatre with laughter from the gay, at the absurdity, or scandalize the serious part, with the (unintentional) impiety. I shall only premise, that the scene of action was the church, in defiance of the fulminations of the furious *Bonner*, and the pious *Grindal*.

THESE plays were twenty-five in number. They were performed for above three centuries, to the staring audience, who received the unvaried subject with the same annual pleasure as the *Romans* did the farces in their days of honest simplicity.

Tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
Exodium, cum personæ pallentis hiatum
In gremio matris formidat rusticus infans.
Juv. Sat. iii. Lib. I.

The same rude song returns upon the crowd,
And by tradition is for wit allow'd,
The mimic yearly gives the same delights,
And in the mother's arms the clownish infant frights.
DRYDEN.

They do not appear to us in the words of the original deviser: but, the language and the poetry

ⁿ *History of English Poetry*, i. 237.

being grown obsolete, they were altered to that of the time, for the performances of the sixteenth century, and were acted by the craftsmen of the twenty-five companies, who were all dressed in suitable habits.

1. THE Tanners performed the play or pageant of the Fall of *Lucifer*; and in the course of the prologue are thus instructed:

NOWE, you worshippfull Tanners, that of custome olde
 The fall of *Lucifer* did sette out:
 Some writers a warrante, your matter therfor be shoulde
 Craftelye to playe the same to all the rowtte;
 Your authour his auther hath: your shewe let it be
 Good speech, fyne players, with apparrill comelye.

SHAKESPEAR certainly formed his *personæ dramaticis* of mechanics, his *Quinces*, *Snugs*, *Snouts*, and *Starvelings*, in the *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, from performers of this kind.

2. THE Drapiers enacted the Creation of the World.

3. THE Water leaders and drawers of the *Dee*, took, with great propriety, the History of the *Deluge*; which being handled in a very diverting manner, I shall transcribe as a pattern of the rest. Their prologue tells them, 'that *Noe* shall goe into the *arke*, with all his famylye, his wyfe excepte.' After the long catalogue of birds, beasts, &c. which are supposed to have entered the vessel, Noah thus calls to his spouse:

NOYE^o.

Wyfe, come in, whie stands thou there?
 Thou art ever froward, that sure I sweare;
 Come in on God's half, tyme it were,
 For feare lest that wee drowne.

NOYE's Wief.

You Sir, sett up your sayle,
 And rowe forth with evill hayle;
 For, withouten land fayle,
 I will not out of this grove.
 But I have my gossopes evry ech one,
 One fote further I will not gone;
 They shall not drown, by Saint *John*,
 An I maye save ther lyves.
 They loved me full well by *Christ*;
 But thou wilt lett them into thie chest,
 Ellis row forth maye when thou liste,
 And get thee another wief.

NOYE.

Sem, sonne, nowe thie mother is war o woe,
 By *God* faith another I doe not knowe.

SEM.

Father, I shall fetch her in, I trow,
 Withouten aine faile.
 Mother, my father after thee sends,
 And biddes thee into yonder ship wends;
 Look upe and see the winds,
 For we bene readie to sayle.

NOYE's Wief.

Sonne, go agayne to him, and saye,
 I will not come therein to daye.

NOYE.

Come in, wief, in twentie devill waye,
 Or allis stand there without.

^o This is copied from the MS. in the *Bodleian* Library.

CHAM.

Shall we all fetch her in?

NOYE.

Yea, sonnes, in *Christ's* blessing and mine,
I would ye hied yea be tyme;
For of this flood I stand in doubt.

THE GOOD GOSSOPES.

The flood comes fleeting in apace,
One every side it spredeth full fare;
For feare of drowning I am agast,
Good gossopes, let us draw neare,
And let us drink are we depart;
For ofte tymes we have done so:
For at a draught thou drinks a quart,
And so will I doe or I goe.
Here is a pottell, ful of malmesay good and strong;
It will rejoyce both hart and tong;
Though *Noy* think us never so long,
Yet wee will drink a tyte.

JAPHET.

Mother, we pray you altogether;
For we are here your owne children;
Come into the ship for feare of the wedder,
For his love that you bought.

NOYE'S Wief.

That I will not far all your call,
But I have my gossopes all.

SEM.

In faith, mother, yet you shall,
Whether you will or mongst.

NOE.

Well me wief into this boate.

NOE'S Wyfe.

Have you that for this note.

[*Gives Noah a box in the ear.*]

NOE.

A ha, *Mary!* this is whote;
It is good for to be still.

A, children! methinks my boat remeves;
Our tarrying here heughly me greves:
On the land the water spreads:
GOD doe as he will.

4. THE Barbers and Wax-chandlers told how *Abraham* returned from the slaughter of the four kings, &c.

5. THE Cappers and Linen-drapers took up the story of *Balaam* and his ass; and make the prophet accost his beast in terms too low and ludicrous to be repeated. This animal had far greater respect paid it in a neighboring kingdom; for feasts were held in honor of it. The *feſta asinaria*, or *feasts of asses*, were celebrated in *France* in the beginning of the fifteenth century^p; when the beast, covered with a cope, was introduced into church, attended by the clergy, and saluted with the following hymn:

Orientis partibus
Adventavit asinus
Pulcher et fortissimus
Sarcinis aptissimus.

Hè, sire Ane, hè.

Hic in Collibus sicsen
Enutritus sub *Reuben*
Transiit per *Jordanem*,
Saliit in *Bethleem*

Hè, sire Ane, hè.

Salta vincit hinnulos
Dagmas et capreolos,
Super Dromedarios
Velox *Madianeos*.

Hè, sire Ane, hè.

Aurum de *Arabia*
Thus et myrrham de *Saba*
Tulit in ecclesia
Virtus asinaria.

Hè, sire Ane, hè.

^p *Memoires, &c. de la Fête des Four*, 14. See also more of it in Mr. Warton's *History of Poetry*, i. 246.

Dum trahit vehicula
 Multa cum sarcinula,
 Illius mandibula,
 Dura terit pabula.
 Hè, sire Ane, hò.

Cum aristis hordeum
 Comedit et carduum
 Triticum a palea
 Segregat in area.
 Hè, sire Ane, hò.

Amen dicas, Asiue,
 Jam satur ex gramine,
 Amen, amen, itera,
 Aspernare vetera.
 Hè, sire Ane, hò.

6. THE Wrights and Slaters rehearsed the *Beirth of Christe*. 7. The Painters and Glaziers, the Appearance of the Angels to the Shepherds. 8. The Vintners, the Departure of the Wise men, or three Kings of the east, in search of our Saviour. 9. The Mercers, the Offerings of the three Kings. 10. The Goldsmiths, the Murder of the Innocents; and give a curious dialogue between the soldiers and the women. 11. The Blacksmiths shew how Christ disputed with the doctors in the temple. 12. The Butchers, how he was led by the Spirit into the wilderness. 13. The Glovers tell of the death of *Lazarus*. 14. The Corvisors, of *Jesus* and the Lepers. 15. The Bakers, of the last Supper. 16. The Fletchers, Bowyers, Coopers, and Stringers, chose the History of the Passion. 17. The Ironmongers, the Crucifixion. 18. The Cooks relate the descent of *Christ* into Hell, and what he did there; which concludes with our Saviour redeeming out of Purgatory all the saints, and leaving behind only one poor woman

(probably a real character at the composition of this curious *drama*) whose crimes she confesses in a long speech:

Some time I was a tavernere,
 A gentel gossepp, and a tapstere
 Of wine and ale a trusty brewer,
 Which woe hath me bewrought.
 Of canns I kepe no true measure;
 My cuppes I solde at my pleasure,
 Deceavinge many a creature,
 Tho' my ale were noughte.

She is then welcomed by the devils; which closes the piece.

MR. CLARKE, in his Letters on the *Spanish* nation, after giving some account of the state of its stage, entertains us with that part of its *drama* which is analogous to our antient mysteries.

“ IN process of time, and after some scenes had
 “ passed which were long, tiresome, uninteresting,
 “ and full of fustian and bombast, the grand scene
 “ approached; an actor, dressed in a long purple
 “ robe, appeared in the character of *Jesus Christ*,
 “ or the *Nuestro Senor*, as they call him; im-
 “ mediately he was blindfolded, buffeted, spit
 “ upon, bound, scourged, crowned with thorns, and
 “ compelled to bear the cross; when he knelt
 “ down, and cried, *Padre mio! Padre mio!* ‘My
 “ ‘ FATHER! My FATHER! why hast thou forsaken
 “ ‘ me?’ After this he placed himself against the
 “ wall, with his hands extended, and there imi-

“tated the expiring agonies of his dying Lord.
 “And what think you, my friend, was the conclu-
 “sion of this awful and solemn scene? Why,
 “really, one every way suitable to the dignity and
 “seriousness of the occasion: one of the actresses
 “immediately unbound *Christ*, divested him of his
 “crown and scarlet robes; and when he had put
 “on his wig and coat again, he immediately joined
 “the rest of the actors, and danced a *sequedilios*.

Spectatum admissi, risum teneatis, amici?

“As to the *sequedilios*, or dance, it is little bet-
 “ter, upon the *Spanish* stage, than gently walking
 “round one another; though when danced in its
 “true spirit, in private houses, it much resembles
 “the *English* hay. After this one of the actresses,
 “in a very long speech, explained the nature, end,
 “and design of the sacraments: you must know
 “also, that the *Spaniards* admit a great number
 “of soliloquies, full of tiresome and uninteresting
 “declamation, into their plays. In the last scene
 “*Christ* appeared in a ship triumphant; and thus
 “the play concluded. I forgot to tell you, that
 “*Christ*, before his passion, preached to the four
 “quarters of the world, in their proper dresses,
 “upon the stage: *Europe* and *America* heard
 “him gladly, and received the faith; but *Asia*
 “and *Africa* remained incorrigible.” See Letter
 VI.

This is all I shall relate of those heaps of absurdities.

THE city had, till this time, been indulged with public stews or brothels, which, for some centuries, were permitted by legislative authority, and regulated by wholesome laws, ordained by the commons, and confirmed by the king and lords. Those of *Southwark* were attended to in a particular manner in 1161, the 8th of *Henry II.* One article affords reason to believe, that a certain disease had a much earlier date than the siege of *Naples*; for it prohibits the stew-holders from keeping any woman that hath the *perillous infirmity of burning*^a. Their houses were distinguished by having the fronts whitewashed, by having signs, not hung out, but painted against the walls. Among the signs, I observe the singular one of the cardinal's hat. Notwithstanding the keepers were protected in their profession, they were reckoned infamous, were not to be impannelled on any juries, or allowed to hold a tavern^r. The women that frequented them were forbidden the rites of the church, as long as they exercised their profession, and were excluded from Christian burial, if they were not reconciled before their death. *Henry VIII.* suppressed the *Surry* houses in 1537; those in this city in 1542.

1542.
PUBLIC
STEWES.

^a *Stow's Hist. London*, II. book iv. 7.

^r *Drake's Parlem. Hist.* ii. 233.

1554. THIS year was distinguished by one of the cruel deeds that marked the reign of the bigotted *Mary*; the burning of *George Marsh*, for his adherence to the Protestant faith. I have often been informed by the worthy Doctor *William Cooper*, that when *Marsh* was brought to *Boughton*, the place of execution, by the sheriffs *Amory* and *Cooper*, the last, an ancestor of the Doctor, favoring the religion of the sufferer, attempted his rescue; but being overpowered by his brother-officer, was obliged to fly till better times, when he returned, and discharged the office of mayor in 1561.

1564. FESTIVE times now took place again, probably in compliment to the taste of the glorious but romantic Queen *Elizabeth*. In the year 1564, upon the *Sunday* after Midsummer, in the mayoralty of Sir *Lawrence Smith*, ‘the history of *Aeneas* and ‘Queen *Dido* was played on the *Rood’s eye*, set ‘forth by *William Croston*, gent. and Mr. *Man*; ‘on which triumph was made two forts, and shipping on the water, besides many horsemen well ‘armed and appointed.’ The forts and shipping seem to have been pageants, to carry on some deeds of chivalry. We hear of the ship *Fame*, laden with good *Renowme*, among the pageantries of *Henry*^s; and the *Fortresse of Beautie*, assailed by virtuous *Desire*, among those of *Elizabeth*^t. The assailants battered it with nosegays; and the be-

^s *Holinshead*, 809. ^t *Idem*, 1318.

sieged discharged against them cannons filled with sweet powder, or odoriferous waters.

DURING Sir *Lawrence's* mayoralty, we have an account of another *spectacle*, an annual one upon the watch of the even of St. *John the Baptist*; for Sir *Lawrence*, and the aldermen and common-council, contract with two painters to have in 'readiness, with all furniture thereto belonging, 'viz. four gyants, one unicorne, one dromedarye, 'one luce, one camell, one asse, one dragon, six 'hobbye horses, and sixteen naked boyes; and the 'same being in readines, shall beare or carry, or 'cause to be borne and carryed, duringe the 'watche, from place to place, accordinge as the 'same have been used,' &c.^u. I am at a loss to guess the end of this preparation: but find that it was suppressed during the mayoralty of 1599.

THE virtue of *Edward Dutton*, mayor of the city in 1604, must not pass unnoticed. This worthy magistrate, like *Marseilles'* good bishop, kept his station during the whole time of a dreadful pestilence: 1604.

When nature sicken'd, and each gale was death.

His house was infected, and some of his children and servants died. The court of exchequer was removed to *Tarvin*; the *Michaelmas* assizes were

^u *Harleian MSS.* N^o 1961.

held at *Namptwich*; and the fairs ceased during this sad visitation.

1617.

IN this year the city was honored with the presence of *James I.* where he was received with a magnificence that did honor to the place. The mayor, *Edward Dutton*, presented his majesty with a fair standing cup, with a cover double gilt, and in it a hundred jacobins of gold. He also delivered the city's sword to the king, who returning it, the mayor bore it before him on horseback. His worship was offered the honor of knighthood, but declined it. The city did not confine its munificence to crowned heads: I find, that in 1583, *Robert* earl of *Leicester*, chamberlain of the county palatine, met with a most honorable reception; was received at the high-cross by the whole corporation, entertained by the mayor, and presented with a cup containing forty angels. The unfortunate earl of *Essex*, in 1598, in his way to *Ireland*, was still more distinguished. He was presented with the like sum; but in a cup of the same kind as that which was afterwards presented to *James*.

FROM 1617, I discover nothing very particular for a considerable time; till the city was involved in the calamities of a siege in 1645-6, in consequence of its unshaken loyalty to *Charles I.* At the beginning of the civil war, immediate attention was paid to this important city, by the royal party. The fortifications were put into the best repair, and

outworks extended from the alcove on the north part of the walls, to the brink of the river near *Boughton*; and in consequence, numbers of houses were pulled down, to prevent them from giving shelter to the enemy. The first attempt on the place by the parlement army was on the 20th of *July* 1643, when Sir *William Brereton* made a violent assault on the works, but met with a repulse. In the same year he sent a summons to Sir *Abraham Shipman*, then governor, to surrender: the gallant commander bid him come and win it and wear it.

AFTER the repulse of Lord *Biron* before *Namptwich*, the county of *Chester* was almost entirely in the hands of Sir *William Brereton*, and the city suffered from that time a sort of blockade, from the quarters the enemy possessed in the neighborhood, even as near as the village of *Christleton*. Sallies and excursions were frequently made; and according to the diary of the siege, with advantage to the loyalists.

ON *September* the 19th 1645, the parlement gained an advantage irrecoverable by the besieged. Colonel *Jones* and adjutant-general *Lothian*, who were employed in the reduction of *Beeston* castle, drew from before that place, in a secret manner, a large body of forces, and in the night stormed the outworks, and made themselves masters of every

thing, even to the city walls. His majesty, immediately after this misfortune, passed through *Wales*, and got into the city, in hopes of animating the garrison, and was lodged at Sir *Francis Gamul's*, near the bridge. He arrived only time enough to be a spectator, from the leads of the *Phoenix* tower, of the fatal battle on *Rowton* heath, on *September 24*; when his forces, under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, then on their march to raise the siege, after a well-disputed action, sunk under the superior fortune of general *Pointz*. The king continued that night in *Chester*; and on quitting it the next day, gave orders to the governor, lord *Biron*, that in case there was no appearance of relief within eight days, he was to treat of a surrender. The king took the route of *Denbigh*, attended to that town by the three respectable citizens, Sir *Francis Gamul*, alderman *Cooper*, and captain *Thropp*. The siege was continued with the utmost vigour by Sir *William Brereton*; notwithstanding which, the gallant garrison held out for twenty weeks, beyond the expectation of every body: and, after having been reduced to live on horses, dogs, and cats, yielded, on the 3d of *February* 1645–6, on terms that did honor to the spirit of the besieged. The city was evacuated by the royalists, and received from the parlement, as governor, colonel *Jones*. But the miseries of the citizens did not terminate with the siege: a dreadful pestilence broke out in

1647: two thousand inhabitants perished, and the city became almost a desert.

IN order to give a further history of the military, civil, and ecclesiastical architecture of this antient city, I return to the bridge. BRIDGE. This passage was prior to the Conquest; at which period it seems to have been either destroyed, or found to be so much out of repair, that I find in *Doomsday book* an order for the provost to summon one man from each hide of land in the county, in order to re-build the bridge and the walls; and in case of neglect of appearance, the lord of the person so summoned was to forfeit to the king and earl forty shillings.

ACCORDING to a MS. quoted by Mr. *Grose*, it was begun by the great restorer of the city, *Ethelfleda*, and after her death completed by her brother *Edward*. Before that time, the passage was by a ferry that plied between the postern, called the *Ship-gate*, and *Edgar's* field. It does not appear to me that any part of the *Saxon* bridge remains; so frequently has it been repaired since that distant period.

BENEATH the arch next to the city, is a current, CAUSEWAY
AND MILLS. which, by means of a great dam or causeway that crosses the river obliquely, supplies the city mills with water. These mills and the causeway were

originally founded by *Hugh Lupus*^x, and retained by his successors, and afterwards by the earls of *Chester* of the royal line. I find them often leased by the crown; *Edward* the black prince, in particular, in 1355, granted them, the fishing, suit, court, and calsey, for three years, to *Robert* of *Bredone*, parson of *St. Peter* of *Chester*, and others, at the annual rent of 190*l.*^y. This rent was very considerable in those days; and arose from the obligation every inhabitant of the city then lay under to grind at these mills, excepting the tenants of the abbot and monks of *St. Werburgh*, and, in after times, those of the dean and chapter, inhabiting without the *North-gate*, who had a mill of their own at *Backpool*.

I MUST not omit, that a grant of these mills for life was the reward of valor to my countryman Sir *Howel y Fwyall*, for his bravery in taking prisoner *John* king of *France*, in the battle of *Poitiers*. This grant was also made by the Black Prince, who not only knighted *Howel*, but allowed a mess of meat to be served before his battle-ax, in memory of the good use he made of it in that day, from which he acquired the name of *Fwyall*, or *Howel* of the ax^z.

BRIDGE-GATE. ON each side of the old *Bridge-gate* were two rounders: over it the three feathers, the arms of

^x *Harleian MSS.* 2082. 10. 2003. 41. 43. ^y *Idem*, 2081. 21.

^z *Hist. Gwedir Family. Fifteen Tribes of N. Wales.*

the princes of *Wales*. Those were first assumed by the BLACK PRINCE after the battle of *Cressi*, in 1346: our historians assert, that they were the three ostrich-feathers which the king of *Bohemia* bore that day in his coronet; and that he was slain by *Edward*, who seizing on the crest, bore from that time both the feathers and the motto *Ich dien, I serve*. I am unwilling to sully the honor of our gallant prince, by supposing that he would stain his sword in so unequal an encounter. The king was blind with age; and finding the battle go against his allies, was led, by his own orders, into the rage of the combat, determined to die in the cause of *France*. Our brave prince, probably, might assume this royal cognizance in memory of the glorious day, and add to it his own motto, *Ich dien*, the old *English* for *I serve*, allusive to the Scriptural verse, *The heir while he is a child differeth not from a servant*^a; an *imprese* extremely suitable to the characteristic modesty and filial piety of this prince.

THIS and the other city gates were placed under the protection of certain great men, who held lands within the county palatine. The earl of *Shrewsbury* had the care of the *Bridge-gate*; the earl of *Oxford*, of the *East-gate*; the earl of *Derby*, of the *Water-gate*. But the *North-gate*, belonging peculiarly to the city, was intrusted only to its chief

^a *Camden's Remains*, 344.

magistrates. Tolls were exacted at entrance, from all strangers, for the support of the guard; and, notwithstanding the cause has long since ceased, are still demanded at the *Bridge-gate*.

ABOVE the gate stood a lofty octagonal tower, begun in 1600, by permission of the corporation, by *John Tyrer* of this city, containing the works which for a long time raised water out of the *Dee* to a cistern in the top, whence it was conveyed in pipes to almost all parts of the city. Possibly these did not answer their purpose effectually; for in 1622, *Tyrer* had a new grant of a tower erected for a water-work and a well-place, ten feet square, near *Spittle Boughton*, with full powers for the conveyance of the water to the cistern or conduit near the high cross. This work (which was first begun by the *black friers* in the time of *Edward I.*^b) fell to decay. In 1692, the works undertaken by *Tyrer* being found to be ruinous and useless, *John Hopkins* and *John Hadley*, by the encouragement of the corporation, began new works for supplying the city with water from the river *Dee*: for this purpose, they purchased the grant made to *Tyrer*, and also one of the corn-mills, for the conveniency of placing their engine. The city confirmed to them all the powers formerly vested in *Tyrer*, and particularly that of setting up a cistern

^b De aqueductu per ipsos (*the black friers*) faciendo a fonte prope furcas. Vide *Tanner*, 65.

opposite to the abby court, as a constant receptacle for fresh water.

THE old *Bridge-gate*, and the octagonal tower, were pulled down above two years ago. An elegant arch, from a plan by Mr. *Joseph Turner*, at present supplies the place of the former.

NEAR the *Bridge-gate* is one ascent to the city walls; which are the only entire specimen of antient fortification now in *Great Britain*. They are a mile and three quarters, and a hundred and one yards in circumference; and, being the principal walk of the inhabitants, are kept in excellent repair by certain impost, called murage duties, collected at the custom-house, upon all goods and merchandize brought into the port of *Chester* from parts beyond the seas, belonging to persons not freemen of the city. The *Irish* linen adds considerably to the fund, being nearly two-thirds of the whole: the duty on this article is two pence on every hundred yards. The annual receipt^c of the different duties, on the average of the last seven years, is about 120*l*. An officer, called a murenger, is chosen out of the body of the aldermen, to inspect the repairs; generally an old mem-

WALLS.

MURAGE.

^c The average amounted

		£	s.	d.
in 1786	to	293	0	0
in 1796	to	122	0	10½
in 1806	to	61	4	9

ED.

ber, to whom the duty affords amusement and health. This fund is now permanent: in old times, the murage was only occasional. Thus, in the 14th of *Edward II.* there was a grant for two years of a half-penny for every cranock of corn; and a farthing of ale, meal, and malt; and for commodities not expressed in the grant, a farthing out of every two shillings-worth.

I CANNOT discover any vestige of the original walls, such as those which are said to have been restored by the warlike *Ethelfleda*. I would not willingly detract from the lady's merit; but I must deny her that of being the foundress of the fortifications, and of enlarging the city beyond the *Roman* precincts. The form at present is so entirely *Roman*, that any addition she could make would have destroyed the peculiar figure that wise people always preserved in their stations or castrametations, wheresoever the nature of the ground would permit.⁽¹⁾ The antiquities which distinguish their residence are not found confined to any

(1) The city has certainly been enlarged beyond the *Roman* precincts, and in all probability by *Ethelfleda*. The original walls on the east and west, as well as on the north, have been rebuilt or restored, portions of *Roman* work still remaining in them. But the eastern and the western walls have been continued considerably beyond the termination of the first enclosure, and a new wall erected on the south side. The effect being that the whole of the *Roman* town, and a large space of ground besides, is comprehended within the present walls.
T.P.

one quarter: they are met in digging on every side within the walls.

THE military architecture is still entirely on the *Roman* plan: it is probable, that after their retreat it fell into ruin, in the impoverished, turbulent, and barbarous ages that succeeded; yet it never was so totally demolished, but that it might still yield a defence to the possessors. We find it wrested out of the hands of the *Britons* by *Egbert*, in 828: we again see it possessed by the *Danes* in 895, and besieged by *Alfred*, who slew all the banditti whom he found *without the walls*; and, lastly, we find it taken by *Ethelfleda*, by the voluntary surrender of the garrison. All this proves a continuance of the fortifications, probably ruinous, and wanting that restoration which they found from that illustrious woman.

WE see the *Roman* mode of fortification preserved to this day, exactly on the antient plan. From each side of the gates projects a *propugnaculum*^d or bastion, in order to annoy the enemy who attempted to enter; between them, in the very entrance, was the *cataracta* or portcullis, ready to be dropt in case they forced the gates; so that part of them might be caught within the walls, and the rest excluded. Should it happen that they set the gates on fire, there were holes above,

^d *Vegetius*, lib. iv. c. 4.

in order to pour down water to extinguish the flames.

THE walls are in many parts, especially on the north and east sides, guarded by towers, placed so as not to be beyond bow-shot of one another, in order that the archers might reach the enemy who attempted to attack the intervals^e. They also are mostly of a round form, as was recommended by the *Roman* architects, in order the better to elude the force of battering rams^f.

THE thickness of the walls answers to the breadth prescribed by *Vitruvius*; only two persons can walk abreast, excepting where the ground adjacent gives a larger expanse. The great architect directs, that they should be of such a breadth, that two armed men may pass each other without any impediment.

MY walk leads me beneath the castle, to one of the four *Portæ principales*, the present *Water-gate*, that opens towards the water-side; and near which the *Dee* in former times flowed.

WATER-
TOWER.

AT the extreme angle of the city, beyond this gate, is a salient tower, exactly round, unless

^e Intervalla autem turrium ita sunt facienda ut ne longius sit alia ab alia sagittæ intermissione, &c. *Vitruvius* lib. i. c. 5.

^f Turres itaque rotundæ aut polygoniæ sunt faciendæ, *quadratas* enim machinæ celerius dissipant, &c. *Vitruvius*, lib. 1. c. 5.

Turres sunt projiciendæ in exteriorem partem, uti cum ad murum hostis impetu velit appropinquare, a turribus, &c. *Ibid.*

where interrupted by a small squared projection at the entrance. This tower is joined to the walls by a deep open gallery, embattled on each side; beneath is a large arch for the passage of the tide, before the late inclosures, which also are within my remembrance. This tower is at present called the *Water-tower*. It jutted into the antient channel of the river, where the ships lay, which fastened their cables to its sides by the great iron rings infixed in the stone. This tower was formerly called the new, yet was founded in 1320; for there exists a contract for that purpose, between the mayor and citizens of *Chester* and one *John de Helpston*, mason, for building *quandam turrem rotundam*, &c. a round tower ‘of the thickness ‘ of ten yards and a half, with a cavity within; ‘ twenty four yards high, and so strong as to be ‘ defensible;’ and all this for the sum of one hundred pounds^g.

THE next remarkable outlet is the *North-gate*^h, NORTH-GATE. beyond which is a large suburb.

THE *Phoenix* tower stands on the angle of the walls beyond this gate. The present tower was built in 1613, and was used by six of the companies of the city as a chamber for business. It took its name from the fabulous bird, the crest of

PHOENIX
TOWER.

^g *Harleian MSS.* N^o 2046. 10.

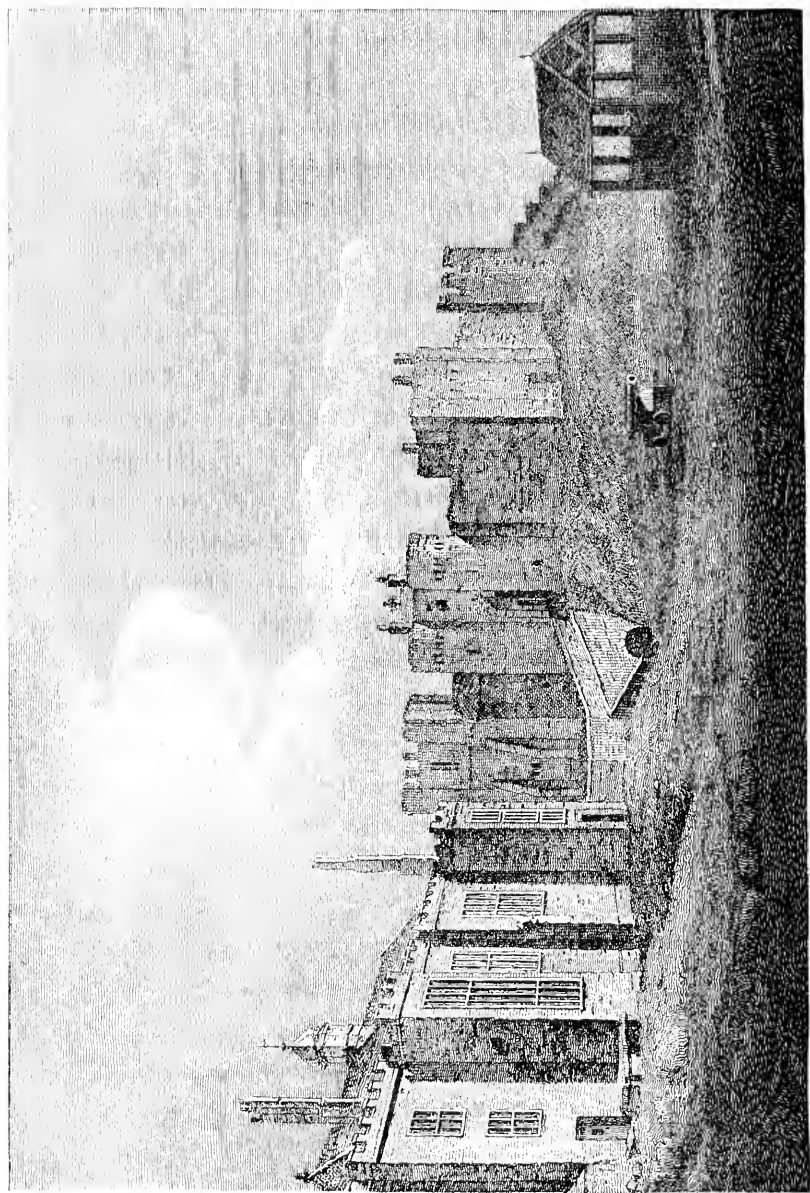
^h This, the last of the antient gates, was taken down in 1808. Another is to be erected on its site. ED.

the painter-stainers company, which was placed in front.

EAST-GATE. THE *East-gate* is the next entrance. Here stood a lofty square tower, with many apartments, erected (according to tradition) by *Edward III.* This had been a *Porta principalis*, was the grand entrance into the town, and was the termination of the great *Watling-street*, which crossed the island from *Dover*, and was the great road from that port to this place. In 1769, this gate, being found too narrow and inconvenient, was pulled down, and a magnificent arch arose in its room, at the sole expence of *Richard lord Grosvenor*. Beyond this is a vast suburb, called the *Forest-street*, the lower part of which was defended by a gate, demolished as a nuisance within these few years.

AFTER passing the *East-gate*, the traveller will observe, without the walls, a vast foss cut through the live rock, now a common road to the water; but which appears to me to have been a work of the *Romans*, as a defence on this side, and which continues the rectangular shape of the station.

FINE VIEWS. THE views from the several parts of the walls are extremely fine. The mountains of *Flintshire* and *Denbighshire*, the hills of *Broxton*, and the insulated rock of *Beeston*, form the ruder part of the scenery; a rich flat gives a softer view; and the



CHESTER CASTLE.
(in 1777.

prospect up the river towards *Boughton* recalls, in some degree, the idea of the *Thames* and *Richmond-hill*.

ON the Conquest, as has been before related, the king visited this city in person, and restored the fortifications. It is probable, that he not only repaired the walls, but that he entirely rebuilt the castleⁱ on the *Norman* model, and enlarged it far beyond the dimensions of that of the *Saxons*, which occupied the summit of the mount or little hill on which the fortress stands. That part is artificial, in order to give a greater elevation, as was customary in the *Saxon* keeps; and the portion so flung up appears here to have been a mixture of stones and exceedingly hard clay.

THE castle is composed of two parts, an upper and a lower: each with a strong gate, defended by a round bastion on each side, with a ditch, and formerly with draw-bridges. Within the precincts of the upper *Ballium* are to be seen some towers^k of *Norman* architecture, square, with square projections at each corner, very slightly salient. The handsomest is that called *Julius Caesar's*. Its entrance is through a large Gothic door, probably of later workmanship. The lowest room has a vaulted roof, strengthened with ordinary square couples.

CASTLE.

ⁱ *Ordericus Vitalis*, 516.

^k The gates, walls, and towers are now destroyed. ED.

The upper had been a chapel, as appears by the holy-water pot, and some figures, almost obsolete, painted on the walls. Its dimensions are nineteen feet four inches, by sixteen six; the height also sixteen feet six. The roof is vaulted; but the couples, which are rounded, slender, and elegant, run down the walls, and rest on the cornuted capitals of five short but beautiful round pillars, in the same style with those in the chapter-house of the cathedral; probably the work of the same architect. The arsenal, some batteries, and certain habitable buildings, occupy the remaining part.

LUPUS'S
HALL.

ON the sides of the lower court stands the noble room called *Hugh Lupus's hall*¹, in which the courts of justice for the county are held. The length of it is near ninety-nine feet; the breadth forty-five; the height very awful, and worthy the state apartment of a great baron. The roof supported by wood work, in a bold style, carved; and placed on the sides, resting on stout brackets.

THIS magnificent building probably retains its original dimensions. The character of the first

¹ The antiquary, and perhaps the man of taste, will regret the demolition of this venerable edifice. A new court of justice, in the form of a *Grecian* theatre, has been erected on its site, to which is attached an immense gaol and other buildings, after the design of Mr. *Harrison*. Its front occupies one side of a spacious area, to the left is the arsenal, and opposite to that a corresponding edifice intended to contain the Exchequer Court, barracks, &c. The fourth side is open. ED.

Norman earl required a hall suited to the greatness of his hospitality; which was confined to no bounds. ‘He was,’ says *Ordericus*^m, ‘not only liberal, but profuse. He did not carry a family with him, but an army. He kept no account of receipts or disbursements. He was perpetually wasting his estates: and was much fonder of falconers and huntsmen, than of cultivators of the land and holy men: and by his gluttony he grew so excessively fat, that he could hardly crawl about.’

ADJOINING to the end of this great hall is the court of exchequer, or the chancery of the county palatine of *Chester*. The earl of *Cholmondeley* is the present chamberlain; Sir *Richard Perryn*, my worthy countryman, sits and discharges the office of vice-chamberlain. In respect to matters of equity, he here acts as lord chancellor. The chamberlain was one of the antient earl’s great officers, and had a fee of twenty-two pounds a year. This very building is said to have been the parliament-house of the little kings of the palatinate. It savors of antiquity in the architecture; and within are a number of seats described by Gothic arches and neat pillars; at the upper end are two; one for the earl, the other for the abbot. The eight others were allotted to his eight barons, and occupy one side of the room.

^m Lib. iv. p. 522.

UNDER the vice-chamberlain is a baron, who holds a weekly court, in which appearances are entered for bringing causes to a trial. Writs and subpoenas are also here made out, as well for the great sessions for this county, as for those of the county of *Flint*. Here is, besides, an examiner, and a seal-keeper, who has the charge of the records.

THE judges have lodgings within the castle, during their circuit, by antient custom. These are furnished by the sheriffs of the city. The sheriffs of the county take care of their horses, but are allowed the expences when they bring in their accounts at the audit.

JAILS.

THE county jail for felons and debtors is the last place to be described. I can do little more than confirm the account of it by the humane *Howard*. Their day-confinement is in a little yard, surrounded on all sides by lofty buildings, impervious to the air, excepting from above, and ever unvisited by the purifying rays of the sun. Their nocturnal apartments are in cells seven feet and a half by three and a half, ranged on one side of a subterraneous dungeon; in each of which are often lodged three or four persons. The whole is rendered more (wholesomely) horrible, by being pitched over three or four times in the year. The scanty air of the streight prison-yard is to travel through three passages to arrive at them: through the window of an adjacent room; through a grate in

the floor of the said room into the dungeon; and finally, from the dungeon, through a little grate above the door of each of their kennels. In such places as these are the innocent and the guilty permitted to be lodged, till the law decides their fate. I am sure the humane keeper, Mr. *Thomas*, must feel many a pang at the necessary discharge of his duty. Mr. HOWARD compares the place to the black-hole at *Calcutta*. The view I had of it, assisted to raise the idea of a much worse prison; where

No light, but rather darkness visible,
Served only to discover sights of woeⁿ.

The constable of the castle holds his place for life; is properly the keeper of the prison; but appoints a deputy. He is accountable for all prisoners and debtors, and answerable for their escapes.

WITHIN the walls of this fortress, was an instance of a felon suffering *prison forte et dure*, for standing mute on his trial, till he died of hunger. One *Adam*, son of *John* of the *Woodhouses*, was, in 1310, the 4th of *Edward* II. committed for burning his own houses, and carrying away the goods. He stood mute; a jury as usual was empannelled, who decided that he could speak if he

PRISON
FORTE ET
DURE.

ⁿ It will be gratifying to the humane traveller to contrast the miseries so pathetically described, with the convenient and salubrious disposition of the courts and apartments of the present place of confinement. ED.

pleased. On this he was committed *ad dietam*; and afterwards *John le Morgan*, constable of the castle, testified, that the aforesaid *Adam* was dead *ad dietam*°. This was the origin of the punishment of pressing to death, or the *peine forte et dure*, which seems a sort of merciful hastening of death; for it must have been much more horrible, as well as tedious, in the manner prescribed by the law of the first *Edward*, in whose reign it originated. The words of the statute are, ‘*Que les felouns ecriez et que sont apertement de male fame, et ne se voillent mettre en enqueste des felonies que lem lui mette devant justices a la suite le Roy, soient mys en la prison fort et dure,*’ &c^p.

THE term *ad dietam* was ironical, expressive of the sad sustenance the sufferer was allowed; *viz.* on the first day, three morsels of the worst bread; on the second, three draughts of water out of the next puddle: and this was to be alternately his daily diet till he died.

MR. RYMER records a strange instance of a woman at *Nottingham*, who underwent this punishment, and lived forty days without meat or drink. This happened in 1357, in the reign of

° *Harleian MSS.* N° 2079. 63.

^p By the Statute of the 12th of George 3, cap. 20. persons arraigned for piracy or felony, standing mute, shall be convicted of such felony or piracy. Ed.

Edward III. who, ‘ad laudem Dei et gloriosæ virginis MARIE matris suæ, unde dictum miraculum processit, *ut creditur*’^a, granted the sufferer a free pardon. After mentioning, that it is probable that the miracle was a little assisted by natural means, I must observe, that according to this instance, the condemned were, in some cases, absolutely denied any species of food; in others, it seems probable, from the name of the punishment of *Adam*, that they sometimes were allowed that wretched diet, which was continued when the punishment changed into the *peine dure et forte*.

THERE is a singularity in the manner of the treatment of the prisoners who are released by capital punishment out of their dreadful cells, which merits mention. They are delivered by the constable or his deputy, at a stone called *Glover’s-stone*, about ninety yards distant from the outward gate, into the hands of the sheriffs of the city, who receive them at that stone, which is the extreme limit of the castle precincts, and from thence convey them to the place of execution, which they also have the charge of. This custom is not accounted for, any more than by tradition, that a felon was formerly rescued in his way to the gallows by the citizens of *Chester*, and perhaps by the connivance of the magistrates, who are supposed

^a The woman’s name was *Cecilia*, indicted for the murder of her husband, *John de Ridgeway*. *Rymer’s Fœdera*, vi. 13.

to have had the disagreeable duty inflicted on them of executing all criminals, whether they are of the county or the city.

GLOVER'S
STONE.

THE city was separated from the castle, and made a county of itself, by the charter of *Henry VII.*: the castle was left as an appertenance to the shire, and has the small outlet of a little street called *Glover's-stone*, which is also independent of the city; and in which non-freemen may set up any trade unmolested by the corporation.

THE castle has a governor, lieutenant governor, and constable; and is garrisoned by two companies of invalids.

THE civil government and architecture is next to be taken notice of. I have, in my account of *Saxon* and *Norman* CHESTER, given a brief relation of the government of the city in those periods. I shall at present only mention the principal charters; and flatter myself, that the reader will excuse my brevity, as it is beyond the power of the travelling topographer to collect the same materials as the resident.

CHARTERS.

THE first royal charter which this city was honored with is that of *Henry III.*; who confirms all the privileges bestowed on it by the *Norman* earls, and, I imagine, first flung the government into the form of a regular corporation; for he grants and confirms to them, that none shall buy or sell mer-

chandise in the city except citizens, unless it be in the fairs, under the penalty of ten pounds.

EDWARD I. gave the city of *Chester*, with the appertenances, and all the liberties and priveleges, to its citizens and their heirs, to be holden of him and his heirs for ever, paying annually 100*l.*; he also granted them the election of a coroner, and pleas of the crown; and that they should have *sock*^r, *sack*, *toll*, *theme*, *infangthefe*, *outfangthefe*, and freedom throughout all the land and dominion, of toll, passage, &c.

EDWARD III. confirmed the past grants, and added another, of all the vacant lands within the liberty of the city, with leave for the citizens to build on such vacant spots.

EDWARD the black prince prescribed by particular names the boundaries of the city, beginning at the *Iron-bridge*, and from thence to *Saltney*, the *Port-pool*, *Flukersbrook*, *Boughton*, &c.

RICHARD II. was particularly kind to this his

^r SOCK, he who is invested with this has power to hold courts within his own lands. SACK, power of deciding complaints and quarrels, and applying to his own use the fines resulting from such decisions within his own territory. TOLL, needs no explanation. THEME, the right to dispose of all his bondsmen, their children and goods. INFANGTHEFE, the power of apprehending, in his own lands, thieves, whether they be his own people or those of another lord. OUTFANGTHEFE, is the power of seizing, in any person's land, a vassal of his own, who has committed a robbery within his jurisdiction, and bringing him to trial to his own court. Vide *Stene, de verb. signifi.* and *Somer's Gloss.*

favorite city. In consideration of some distresses it had undergone, he released the citizens from the payment of seventy-three pounds ten shillings and eight-pence arrears of rent due to the crown: he gave them the profits of the ferry towards the rebuilding and repairing of *Dee* bridge: he made them two grants of the murage, the first for four years, the second for five, towards the repairs of the walls. But in the 22d year of his reign, ‘for the
 ‘ furtherance of justice in the same city, and better
 ‘ execution thereof, he granted unto his subjects,
 ‘ majors, sheriffs, and commonalty of the said city,
 ‘ to hold their courts; and limited what processes
 ‘ they might award in, actions, personal felonies,
 ‘ appeals, processes of utlagary, as at common law.
 ‘ Granted under the seal of the principality of
 ‘ *Chester*, at *Chester*, *May* 2, 1398^s.’ This seems to have been found necessary, in order to strengthen the civil policy of the place, which had four years before been greatly insulted by a dreadful riot in the abby by Sir *Baldwyne*, of *Radyngstone*, supported by Sir *John* of *Stanley* with eight hundred men. A sheriff was killed, and many other excesses committed^t.

AFTER the revolution which happened in 1399, the mayor and citizens continued to favor the cause of their deposed master; and after his death, gave

^s *King* ii. 159. ^t *Harleian MSS.* N^o 2057. 34.

all the assistance in their power to *Harry Percy*. On his defeat, they obtained the royal pardon, and in order to conciliate their affections, young *Henry*, prince of *Wales*, and earl of *Chester*, confirmed all their former charters and privileges; he afterwards granted to them the profits of murage and bridge tower, where tolls were collected *durante bene placito*.

IN a confirmation of the former charters by *Henry VI.* we learn the former concourse of strangers; the greatness of the commerce of *Chester*, by reason of the goodness of its port; and the great trade carried on in provisions into and out of *Wales*. It farther recites the melancholy change of affairs; the conflux of foreign merchants being put a stop to by the choaking of the creek with sands; and the intercourse with *Wales* destroyed, since the insurrection of *Owen Glendwr*: which considerations moved the king to remit ten pounds of the antient fee-farm rent.

The provisions alluded to were probably cheeses, on the part of the citizens of *Chester*; and perhaps wines, spices, and other foreign luxuries; for which they might receive in exchange from the *Welsh*, cattle of different kinds.

HENRY VII. in 1506, in consideration of farther distresses of the city, not only remitted eighty pounds of its annual rent, but granted it a new

MEMBERS.

charter, by which he separated it from the county, and added several of the most valuable privileges which it still enjoys: but being a county palatine, and in the time of *Edward I.* vested in the crown, it never received summons, either for county or city, to return members to parlement, till the reign of *Henry VIII.* when the county, in 1543, was empowered to send two knights, and the city two citizens. The electors of the last are the freemen of the city; the returning officers the sheriffs.

CORPORATION.

THE corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, two sheriffs, twenty-four aldermen, and forty common-council. Here are beside two annual officers, called *leave-lookers*, whose business is to prevent all persons who are not free of the city from exercising any trade, or exposing to sale any wares or merchandise within the liberties. They were accustomed to go round the city in order to preserve these its privileges; and sometimes were used to take small sums, called *leave-lookerage*, for *leave* for non-freemen to sell wares by retail; but at present the yeoman of the Pentise discharges this office, and returns the names of such persons who are found to offend, in order that actions might be brought against them. We find as early as 1297, that similar officers were elected, under the name of *custos guild mercator*; and who discharged the same function^u.

^u *King*, ii. 167.

THE places where the mayor and other officers of the corporation assemble for the dispatch of business, or administration of justice, are two; the first is the Pentise^x, an antient building in the center of the city, near the junction of the four principal streets. Mention is made of the north-side having been built in 1497. Here all business within the cognizance of a justice of the peace is transacted; the aldermen that have past the chair being empowered to act as long as they wear the gown. Here also the sheriffs, assisted by the recorder, sit and determine civil causes. PENTISE.

I IMAGINE that this building, St. Peter's church, and a few houses to the north and west, occupy the site of the *Roman Prætorium*; for they not only fill the very situation of that part of the old castrametations, but account for the discontinuance of the *Bridge street*, which ceases opposite to these edifices. This also is the cause why the nearer part of the *North-gate street* is thrown out of its course, and falls into the *East-gate street*, many yards beyond the mouth of the *Bridge street*; for the lower part of the *North-gate street*, where the exchange and shambles stand, points directly towards the former; but is interrupted by the space occupied by these buildings. The limit of the *Prætorium* on the east, was the narrow portion of PRÆTORIUM.

^x This building, which contracted the entrance into the *Water-gate street*, was removed in 1803. ED.

North-gate street; on the south, part of the present *Bridge, East-gate, and Water-gate streets*; on the west *Goss lane*; and on the north, the space now occupied by the fish-market. The *Prætorium*, with its attendants, demanded no small space; for, besides the spot possessed by the general, were the apartments of the *imperatoris contubernales*, or the young nobility immediately under his care; the *augurale*, where prayers, sacrifices, and other religious rites were performed, might have stood on the site of the modern church; and the general might have had his tribunal on the very spot where the worshipful corporation at present sit for the redress of grievances.

EXCHANGE.

THE courts of justice are held in the common hall, a large and commodious room over the exchange, adorned with the portraits of several popular persons.* In this place are held a crown-mote court, portmote court, and court of sessions. The mayor, assisted by the recorder, is judge of the crownmote court. He has jurisdiction in all criminal causes, treason only excepted. He is also judge of the portmote court, with the same assistant. This court holds plea in all actions real, personal, and mixed. In the court of sessions, the

* The full length portrait described in the last edition of this work, p. 175, as that of Sir *William Williams*, Speaker of the House of Commons, has since been ascertained to represent one of the *Grosvenor* family. ED.

aldermen above the chair try petty-larcenies, and determine upon inferior offences. In this place the body corporate hold their assemblies for making bye laws for the government of the city; for managing the public buildings and directing the charities; and finally, the city elections of magistrates, as well as of members, are made in this court.

THE only remains of any *hotel*, and that of no antient date, stood in *Old Common-hall lane*; which, when entire, surrounded a square, and communicated with *Water-gate street*. It was founded by Sir *Thomas Egerton*, chamberlain of *Chester*, afterwards lord chancellor of *England*, and designed by him for a dwelling-house. The small remainder, which faced the lane, and was occupied by a poor family, on the 5th of *November 1772*, was the scene of a dreadful calamity. The first floor was engaged by a puppet-show man; and at the moment he was exhibiting to a very full audience, by some unknown accident 800 pounds weight of gunpowder, which was lodged in a warehouse beneath, took fire, and blew up three EXPLOSION. stories. Twenty-three people perished, and eighty-three were much burnt, bruised, and received broken and dislocated limbs; of which number only three died, and those with locked jaws. The remedy found most efficacious for the burnt, was *Goulard's* extract of lead.

THE external effects of this explosion were these: the windows and broken glass of several of the neighboring houses fell outwards; from which it appears, that they were not broken by the shock of the gunpowder, but by the pressure of the air within the apartments, which rushed out into the *vacuum* occasioned by the explosion. A similar phenomenon has been remarked from an explosion from the inflammable vapor of a mine, when the neighboring trees fell towards the blast. Howsoever, where the force of the powder was confined by narrow passages, its centrifugal effect took place; for two boys, walking along the rows in *Water-gate street*, opposite to a passage leading to the building, were blown, one against the rails, the other into the street; and the roof of a house was blown off, opposite to a passage into *Common-hall lane*.

It is much to be wished, that the easy magistracy of this city would, from this dire accident, take into consideration the safety of the whole, in preference to the conveniency of a few lazy individuals; and either compel them to keep by them only the legal quantity, or at their session appoint proper places for lodging gunpowder. This is the second tremendous warning of the same nature which the city hath been visited with. On the first of *April* 1726, the shop of Mr. *Thomas Murray*, in *Bridge street*, and the house, were blown

up; and himself and a young gentleman killed. Notwithstanding this double admonition, I fear its attention still continues lethargic.

THE sufferers who survived this calamity were relieved^y in the well regulated infirmary established here, and supported by the voluntary contributions from the city, county, and neighboring parts of *Wales*. It is a handsome building, in an airy situation, and detached from the streets. This charity was founded in 1756, and originated from a bequest of 300*l.* left by Dr. *Stratford* commissary of *Richmond*, towards the commencing of a public hospital in this city. Subscriptions were solicited, and a sum equal to the design soon raised. Before the present building could be ready for the reception of patients, a temporary infirmary was prepared for them, in 1756, in *North-gate street*. The new infirmary was opened on the 17th of *March* 1761; and has been supported with a spirit that does honor to the environs; which has enabled the managers to receive, since its institution, not fewer than thirteen thousand six hundred and thirty six objects of relief^z. The portrait of the founder is placed in the council-room of the infirmary: a

^y Six hundred and thirty pounds were immediately collected from the humane inhabitants of the city, to be distributed among these miserable maimed objects.

^z The total, including in and out patients, who have received benefit from this institution to the present time (1809) amounts to eighty thousand nine hundred and seventy three. Ed.

three-quarters piece, sitting in a long wig and a civilian's gown.

ECCLÉSIASTICAL
STATE.

I SHALL now take a short view of the ecclesiastical state of this antient city. It is necessary first to observe, that the *Mercian* kingdom was divided into five bishopricks; *Lichfield*, *Chester*, *Worcester*, *Lydneycester*, and *Dorchester*; which last was afterwards removed to *Lincoln*. *Lichfield* was made, about the year 785, metropolitan, by order of *Offa*, and afterwards, for a long time, incorporated into itself its suffragan, *Chester*. How greatly the last flourished is evident from an account of its annual payment to the pope in very early times; for, when *Lichfield* payed only three thousand florins, our see advanced five thousand. No wonder that its jealousy should be excited! Very little is known of the state of this church in the *Saxon* period. Let it suffice to say, that a bishop of *Lichfield*, of the name of *Peter*, in the year 1075, removed his episcopal seat to *Chester*; and during his life made use of the church of *St. John's* for his cathedral. This translation was of very short date; for his successor established himself in the former diocese, and *Chester* continued without a bishop till the dissolution of monasteries; when in 1541, *Henry VIII.* restored it to its former honor, by creating it one of the six^a new sees

^a *Westminster, Oexford, Bristol, Gloster, Peterborough, and Chester.*
The first was suppressed in the reign of queen *Mary*.

formed on that great event; and converted the church of the late abby of *St. Werburgh* into the cathedral.

THE first of the new bishops was *John Bird*, a *Carmelite*, and provincial of the order; a man subservient to the court; who, by preaching against the pope's supremacy, so recommended himself to the king as to obtain the bishoprick of *Bangor*; from whence he was removed to *Chester*, as a fit person to suit the rapacity of the times. In 1546, he granted away the whole of the manors and demesnes of the see, and, accepting impropriation instead of them, left his successor not a single acre, excepting that on which the palace stands, and the court before it; another house, adjacent; a little orchard, called the *Woodyard*; two houses near *St. John's* church; and a few small tenements in the city of *York*. Notwithstanding the sum he amassed, he was found, at the accession of *Mary*, in debt to the crown 1087*l.* 18*s.* for tenths and subsidies; a vast sum for the times! His interest with bishop *Bonner* still would have saved him, had he not committed (in those days) the heinous crime of matrimony, for which he was deprived in 1554.

HE left his diocese one of the lest in value, yet greatest in extent, of any in *England*; for it reaches from *Hawarden* in *Flintshire*, to the river

Derwent⁽¹⁾ in *Cumberland*: comprehending the entire counties of *Chester* and *Lancaster*; part of *Westmoreland*, *Cumberland*; *Richmond* in *Yorkshire*; the chapelries of *Holt* and *Iscoed*; the churches of *Hawarden*, *Hanmer*, *Bangor*, *Worthenbury*, and the chapelry of *Overton Madoc*, in the adjacent parts of *Wales*.

ABBY.

THE abbey, out of which the see was formed, was of great antiquity. History relates, that it had been originally a nunnery, founded about the year 660, by *Wulpherus*, king of the *Mercians*, in favor of his daughter's indisposition to a married life. This was the celebrated *St. Werburgh*, who took the veil after living immaculate for three years with her husband *Coelredus*, after the example of her aunt, the great *Ethelreda*; who cohabited for three years with no less purity with her first spouse *Tonberctus*, and for twelve with her second, the pious prince *Egfrid*. *St. Werburgh* presided over several *Mercian* monasteries, died at *Tricengham*, and by her own order was interred at *Heanburge*; but on the approach of the *Danes*, in 875, her body was conveyed to *Chester*, as a place of security from the insults of those pagans^b.

It is uncertain how long this community existed. It probably was ruined by the ravages of the

⁽¹⁾ This reminds one of the boundaries of the old Kymric province of Teyrnllwg, as defined in the 'Iolo MSS.' p. 86. J.R.

^b *Higden* in *Gale*, iii. 240.

barbarians in 895, and finally suppressed; for we are told^c, that from the reign of king *Athelstan*, in 925, to the coming of the *Normans*, a set of canons secular were established in the place of the nuns. This pious deed was that of *Ethelfleda*, who restored the buildings; which afterwards were repaired by earl *Leofric*, husband to the famous *Godiva*. The house was richly endowed by the kings *Edmund* and *Edgar*, and by *Leofric*. *Edgar's* charter begins in a strain equally pious and sublime^d.

ON the accession of *Hugh Lupus* to this earldom, he suppressed the canons secular, and established in their place a colony of his countrymen, *Benedictines*, from *Bee* in *Normandy*; for probably he did not care to trust his salvation to the prayers of the *Saron* religious. It is said, that this piece of piety was owing to a fit of illness which the earl was seized with; when he took the usual way in those days of soothing a troubled conscience. He sent for *Anselm*, abbot of *Bee*, and afterwards archbishop of *Canterbury*, who regulated the new foundation; and appointed his chaplain *Richard* to be the first abbot. *Lupus* and his successors were very liberal in their endowments^e; and the place flourished till its dissolution; which was effected by the surrender of the

^c *Hidden in Gale*, iii. 240.

^d *Dugdale, Monast.* i. 200.

^e *Ibid.* i. 985, &c.

last abbot, *Thomas Clerk*; who received in reward the office of the new deanry, which he enjoyed only six weeks. The revenues of this great abbey were, according to *Dugdale*, 1003*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*; to *Speed*, 1073*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.*

ACCORDING to a survey of this Abby, preserved in the *Harleian* collection, its extent was very considerable; surrounding the present square, and covering several parts of the adjacent ground. The old abbey-court is adorned on two sides by very handsome modern houses, built between the years 1750 and 1754, on leases granted by the dean and chapter. Another side is filled by the new palace; an elegant pile, which rose under the auspices of the late munificent and hospitable prelate *Edmund Keene*, afterwards bishop of *Ely*. Its place was before occupied by the house of the antient abbots.

THE old gate is yet standing: it is a plain but noble entrance, and consists, towards the street, of two Gothic arches included within a round one of great diameter; and which appears to have been of far older date. On one side was the porter's lodge; on the other, a place called *St. Thomas's* court. A chapel, dedicated to the same saint, stood where the present deanry is; and, from its antient appearance, seems to have been externally the same building.

THE cloisters are entire; but consist only of

three walks, the court extending on one side quite to the church. By the different arms on the roof, it appears to have been repaired at several periods, from the time of *Edward III.* to that of *Wolsey*, whose arms, with those of the see of *York*, with the cardinal's cap, are also to be seen here.

ON one side stood the frater; a vast room, which is used as a free-school, founded by *Henry VIII.* in the 36th year of his reign, for twenty-four boys, who are appointed by the dean and chapter: they may continue there four years, if their conduct be regular; but the dean has power to grant a year of grace. No boy (unless he be a choirister) ought to be chosen before he is nine years old, or after he is fifteen. Two masters are appointed for their instruction, a chief and an under master, elected by the dean and chapter.

SCHOOL.

IN a corner of the east-side of the cloister, is a passage and stairs to the dormitory; and the antient priests cellars and kitchen. On the same side is a passage, formerly called the Maidens aile, which leads to the little abby-court, a part of the antient building belonging to the prebendaries.

THE beautiful edifice, the chapter-house, stands in the same walk of the cloister. The vestibule is arched, supported by four columns, each surrounded with eight slender pilasters without capitals, which converge near the top of the column, and spread over the roof. The dimensions of this

CHAPTER-
HOUSE.

room are thirty-three feet four inches, by twenty-seven feet four; the height twelve feet nine. On the sides is a stone seat for the attendants on the business of the chapter.

THE chapter-house is fifty feet long, twenty-six feet broad, and thirty-five feet high; at the upper end is a window, consisting of five lancet-shaped divisions, and on each side is another of three. At the height of eight feet and a half from the floor, a narrow gallery runs along three parts of the room, divided from the windows by a triplet of most elegant, lofty, slender pillars. The roof is of stone; the springs of the arches which secure it, are supported by neat pilasters with palmy capitals.

THE modern book-cases deform the lower parts of the room, as high as the bottom of the windows. The walls, I conjecture, had been ornamented with pilasters, and had a stone seat like that of the vestibule. The entrances, both from the cloisters and between the vestibule and the chapter-house, are Gothic; but apparently of a later species of architecture than either of those rooms.

THE chapter-house is said to have been built in the time of *Randle the first*, earl of *Chester*, who died in 1128, after enjoying his earldom eight years. The great earl, *Hugh Lupus*, uncle to *Randle*, had been interred in the church-yard of the abbey: the first care of the nephew was to re-

move the body into this building^f, as the most honorable place; a respect which would certainly have been payed to it, had this edifice existed at the time of his death. Here his remains continued unmolested till the year 1724, when, in digging within the chapter-house, they were found in a stone coffin, wrapped in gilt leather, with a cross on the breast; and at the head of the coffin a stone in shape of a T, with the wolf's head, the allusion to his name, engraven on it. Immediately over his breast was a very singular covering, made of paper nicely platted, so as to form most elegant little squares of black and white^g. Other coffins were discovered beneath the two rooms, of earls, their countesses, or of abbots; but the great leveler death had reduced them to dust indistinguishable.

THE earls who were interred here, were *Hugh*, who died in 1101; *Randle the first*, or *de Meschines*, in 1128; *Randle the second*, or *de Gernouns*, who was poisoned in 1155, by *William Peverel*; *Hugh Cyvelioc*, who died at *Leek* in 1181; *Randle the third*, or *de Blundeville*, who died at *Wallingford* in 1232, where his bowels were interred; his heart was buried at the abbey of *Dieulacres* in *Staffordshire*, and his body transported

^f *Leicester's Hist. Antiq.* 127.

^g A piece of it, set in a ring, is in the possession of *Philip Egerton*, Esq. of *Oulton*.

to *Chester*; finally, *John Scot*, who, in 1237, underwent the same fate as *Randle the second*. So that every earl of the *Norman* line was deposited here, excepting *Richard*, who perished by shipwreck in 1120^h.

OF the abbots, *Geofry*, who died in 1208, and six others, were buried in the chapter-house or its vestibule¹.

THE church bounds the north side of the cloisters. The lower part of the wall has a row of arches, now filled up, and savors more of antiquity than the rest. This, and a portion of the north-transepts, are the oldest parts of the present building; but there are no remains now left than can boast of a remote date. All the labors of the *Saxons*, and almost all those of its refounder *Hugh Lupus*, are now lost. The abbot, *Simon Ripley*, who was elected in 1485, finished the middle aisle and the tower. The body is supported by six sharp-pointed arches. The columns are thick, surrounded by pilasters with small rounded capitals. Above is a gallery, with a neat stone balustrade in the parts where it is entire, and a row of large and broad pointed windows; which is the general style.

THE present cathedral appears to have been

^h The particulars of the deaths of this illustrious line may be seen, in *LEICESTER*; or in *DUGDALE'S Baronage*, i. 32, &c.

ⁱ *Willis's Cathedrals*, i. 323.

built (excepting the slight fragments just mentioned) in the reigns of *Henry VI.* *VII.* and *VIII.*; but principally in those of the two last. The beautiful west end was begun in 1508, and the first stone laid with much ceremony. The window over the door is filled with elegant tracery; and the door-case enriched with figures and other sculpture. The descent into the church is down a multitude of steps; so there is reason to suspect, that the present was on the foundation of the antient church, and on a level with the old streets, which we know were many feet lower than the modern, which have been raised, by the accession of rubbish, and other adventitious matter.

THE center beneath the great tower is much injured by a modern bell-loft, which conceals a crown-work of stone, that would have a good effect was the loft destroyed.

FROM the springs of arches that appear in the walls of the nave and its ailes, it seems as if the architect had intended to have vaulted them in the manner in which *St. Mary's* chapel and the choral ailes are done.

The choir is very neat; and the Gothic tabernacle-work over the stalls carved in a light and elegant manner. The arches in the galleries are divided by pretty slender pillars, which perhaps were of a date prior to the body of the church;

probably the work of abbot *Oldham*, who was a benefactor, and had a concern in the building.

IN the chancel are four stone stalls for the officiating priests, with carved Gothic work above; a recess or two for preserving either the reliques or the sacred utensils. About the walls are dispersed the monuments of several bishops and churchmen; but none of any magnificence; and one of Sir *William Mainwaring*, a gallant young man, who fell in the defence of the city during its long siege.

THE bishop's throne stands on a stone base, as remarkable for its sculpture as its original use. Its form is an oblong square; and each side most richly ornamented with Gothic carvings, arches, and pinnacles. Around the upper part is a range of little images, designed to represent the kings and saints of the *Mercian* kingdom. Each held in one hand a scroll with the name inscribed. Fana-tic ignorance mutilated many of the labels, as well as the figures; the last were restored about the year 1748; but the workman, by an unlucky mistake, has placed female heads on male shoulders, and given manly faces to the bodies of the fair-sex. At first, there were thirty-four figures: four are lost; the remainder are faithfully described, and the history of each monarch and saint accurately given, in a little pamphlet, published in 1749, by the worthy Doctor *William Cooper*, who dedicated the profits to the use of the blue-coat hospital in

this city. I beg leave to dissent from the notion of this having been the shrine of St. *Werburgh*, as it is popularly called. It certainly was nothing more than the pedestal on which the real shrine, or, as the *French* call it, *la chasse*, stood, which contained the sacred reliques. These are made of gold, silver, *vermeil*, i. e. silver gilt, or some precious materials, and often enriched with gems of great value. They are of different forms, such as churches, cabinets, &c. and, should the relique be a head, or limb, the *chasse* is made conformable to the shape of the part. These are seated usually conspicuous on an elevated place; and are always moveable, in order that they may be carried in procession, either in honor of the saint, or to divert some great calamity. Thus, in 1180, the shrine of St. *Werburgh* was brought out to stop the rage of a fire in the city, which for a long time was invincible by every other means; but the approach of the holy remains instantly proved their sanctity, by putting an end to its furious desolation.

ST. WER-
BURGH'S
SHRINE.

BEFORE I take leave of this part of the church, I must mention an impious outrage committed at the high altar in 1492, by a gentleman of *Wales*, who wounded almost to death one *Patrick Filling*, I suppose the officiating priest. Divine service, as usual, was immediately suspended, till a lustration was performed in order to purify the church

ASSASSINA-
TION.

from the foul stain. The abby was reconciled on St. *Werburgh's* day; the parish-church on that of St. *Oswald*^k.

AN impiety of this kind was committed in the church of *Notre Dame* at *Paris*, in 1670^l. The priest died of his wound; and expiation was made by order of the archbishop; public prayers were offered up for forty hours in all the churches; and a fast of three days appointed. The affair terminated by a general (*reparation*) satisfaction of the injury by a grand procession, in which the whole parlement assisted. The streets were covered with tapestry, and the avenues barred up with chains to keep off the mob; and thus the place was restored to the discharge of the sacred offices.

It is with a kind of horror I read in the zealous *Fox*, of an outrage of this sort committed in our own kingdom, in the reign of queen *Mary*^m. The enthusiast was taken, and punished by the striking off the criminal hand, and by being burnt: yet the historian gives him a place among the more well-meaning sufferers of that barbarous period.

BEHIND the choir is St. *Mary's* chapel; and on each side is an aisle. The monuments in these parts are in no wise remarkable. In its north aisle is a tomb with a flowery cross, that of an abbot;

^k *King*, ii. 189.

^l *Felibien Hist. Paris*, ii. 1500. *Pieces Justif.* iii. 212.

^m *Martyrs*, iii.

and another of an altar-form, ascribed to *Henry IV.* emperor of *Germany*, who, according to a legendary tale, was said to have escaped from his troubles, and to have resided in *Godstall lane*, in this city; to have died there; and to have been interred in the abby. It is very uncertain whether this great but calamitous prince was ever in our kingdom; but it is well known that he finished his days at *Liege*ⁿ, in 1106, and was magnificently interred in the cathedral of that city.

THE transepts are of unequal lengths; the south is very large, dedicated to *St. Oswald*, and is the parish-church of that name. This is said to have stood on the site of the first church of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, which was afterwards changed to that of the *Holy Trinity*, and finally, to the name it now bears. On the rebuilding of the church, this aisle was designedly enlarged, and allotted by the monks to the neighbouring inhabitants, who were for the most part their servants or tenants. At first, the religious wished to have the whole to themselves, and on that account built, at a distance from this aisle, a chapel called *St. Nicholas's* and endowed it with a vicarage, for the use of the laity; but afterwards, the inhabitants at their own request, and by composition between the mayor and abbot, about the year 1488, were restored to

ⁿ *Modern Univ. Hist.* xxxix. 95.

the use of the church of *St. Oswald*, which they still retain^o.

THE chapel falling into disuse, was purchased by the citizens, and converted into their common-hall for the dispatch of business^p. In later times, since the building of the exchange, it has been converted into a magazine of wool; into a carrier's warehouse; and part into a theatre, acting under parliamentary licence.

THIS abby afforded only a temporary sanctuary to the profligate. The privilege which *Hugh Lupus* granted is particular: he ordered, that no thief or other malefactor, that attended the fair held at the feast of *St. Werburgh*, should be attached, unless he committed some new offence there^q. This, says *King*, drew a vast concourse of loose people together at that season, and proved of singular advantage to *Randle the third*, earl of *Chester*; who, being surrounded in the castle of *Rhuddland* by a numerous army of *Welsh*, and in great danger, sent for relief to his general, *Roger Lacy*, at that time attending the midsummer-fair. *Lacy* instantly collected a body of minstrels, fiddlers, and idle people, who were assembled here on account of this privilege; marched with them

^o *King*, ii. 39.

^p It is probable that there had been a more antient common-hall; a lane in this city still retains the name of *Old Common-hall lane*.

^q *Leicester*, 119.

into *Wales*, and relieved the earl from his distress. *Rundle*, on his return, immediately rewarded *Lacy* with a full power over all the instruments of his preservation, *magisterium omnium leuatorum et meretricum totius CESTRESHIRE*. By this grant he was empowered to require the attendance of all the minstrels and musicians of the county on the anniversary of the exploit. They were to play before him and his heirs for ever, in a procession to the church of *St. John*; and, after divine service, to the place where he kept his court. The minstrels were there examined concerning their lives and conversation; whether any of them played without annual licence from their lord, or whether they had heard any words among their fellows tending to his dishonor. These privileges were afterwards devolved by *John*, son of *Roger de Lacy*, on *Hugh de Dutton* and his heirs. The procession and courts were held by their steward within my memory; but the custom is now dropt. I find also, that *Dutton* and his heirs clamed at the feast from the minstrels, *quatuor lagenas vini et unam lancem*, four bottles of wine, and one great dish; and at the same time a fee of four-pence halfpenny: and from every *Meretric* in *Cheshire*, and in the city of *Chester*, *officium suum exercente*, four-pence^r.

THE other religious houses in this city were, the

^r *Leicester*, 142.

CARMELITES. *Carmelites*, or *White friers*, who had a convent in that part of St. *Martin's* parish still called *White-friers lane*: part of Mr *Marsden's* house is formed of the remains. The church, as appears by *Braun's* view of this city in 1581, stood a little west of it.

By the charter of *Roger Lacy* to the abby of *Norton*, it appears, that there was a monastery in the parish of St. *Michael's*, which he grants to the canons of the former. We are left ignorant of the order it was of.

In *Trinity* parish stood a house of *Franciscan* or *Grey friers*, which bishop *Tanner* conjectures might have been as antient as the time of *Henry III.* The site was granted to one *John Cokke*. I imagine that this stood in the *Yatch field*, near the place occupied by the new linen-hall. By *Speed's* plan of *Chester*, it appears that there was a church there in his time; and to this day painted tiles and painted glass, reliques of ecclesiastical finery, are still dug up.

In the parish of St. *Martin's*^t was a monastery of preaching or *Black friers*, said by *Speed* to have been founded by a bishop of *Chester*, meaning (as *Tanner* observes) of *Lichfield*. This, as well as the other religious house of this parish, was granted to the same *John Cokke*. Part of this

^s *Dugdale Monast.* 185.

^t Rather in that of *Trinity*; 9s. 2½*d.* is paid at the audit for the site of it.

house, and its fine vaults, are occupied by *Henry Hesketh*, esquire.

ST. JOHN'S, which lies without the walls on the east side of the city, was once a collegiate church, reputed to have been founded by king *Ethelred* in 689, on being admonished by a vision to build it on the spot where he should find a white hind. After the ruin of the city by the *Danes*, the church was restored by his namesake, earl of *Mercia*, in 906, and was in the next century repaired and endowed by earl *Leofric*. A monastery was also founded here; for historians record, that king *Edgar* was rowed from his palace to the monastery of *St. John*. The *Doomsday* book also mentions the monastery of *St. Mary* near the same church. This, besides, was the cathedral during the short time the see was removed from *Lichfield* by bishop *Peter*. In an old plan of it appears a house called the bishop's.

AT the dissolution, here was found a dean and seven prebendaries or canons (in a collation of the bishop of *Lichfield*); seven vicars, two clerks, four choiristers; sextons, and other servants; most of whose houses are distinguished in the same plan. Their yearly revenue, after reprisals, was only 27*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* The site of the college, and some part of the buildings, were granted by queen *Elizabeth* to *John Fortescue*^u.

^u *Tanner*, 59.

ON the east side of the church-yard stood the chapel of St. *Anne*, belonging to the brethren and sisters of the fraternity of St. *Anne*^x. This in later days was called *Cholmondely* hall, but is now totally demolished.

ST. JOHN'S, when entire, was a magnificent pile. The tower once stood in the center; but falling down in 1574, was never rebuilt. The chancel was probably demolished at the same time; at that end are still some fine arches, and other remains of antient chapels. Withinside are curious specimens of the clumsy strength of *Saxon* architecture, in the massy columns and round arches which support the body. The tower is now placed at the west-end, and has on one side the legend, represented by the figure of a man and a hind.

ON the south side of the church-yard, impending over a high cliff, supposed to be the *Radeclive* of the Doomsday-book, is a small antient building, probably a chapel, called the *Anchoritage*, placed over the retreat of some holy hermits. This might have been their place of sepulture; for in the live rock were found two bodies deposited in coffin-shaped cavities; it might also have been the spot, where legend says that *Harold*, the last *Saxon* king, ended his days; for it was long believed by the *English*, that he escaped from the battle of *Hastings*, and finished his life in retirement.

^x *Harleian MSS.* N^o 1994. 69.

DOCTOR TANNER supposes, that the convent of *Benedictine* nuns, dedicated to St. *Mary*, originated either from the monastery of St. *John*, or was a relique of one of the old nunneries belonging to St. *Werburgh*. This, perhaps, may have been the case; for, from a charter preserved by *Dugdale*, it appears, that *Randle the second*, earl of *Chester*, had obtained for the nuns of *Chester*, certain crofts from *Hugh Fitzoliver*, for them to build a church and convent on; which implies that there had been nuns in the city previous to his grant^y. I find also, that *Edward* the black prince had been a benefactor; for there is mention of a charter of his to the nuns, granted in the 32d of his father's reign^z. This was suppressed (with the other religious houses) in 1537. At that time *Elizabeth Grosvenour* was prioress, who made a surrender of the house, and had a pension for life of twenty pounds; and eleven of the sisters had also pensions, from 4*l.* to 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each. The site was granted, in the 33d of *Henry VIII.* to the *Urian Breretons*, senior and junior. The revenues were, according to *Dugdale*, 66*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*; to *Speed*, 99*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.* I have a ground-plot of this nunnery; by which it appears to have been a compact but small building. The church was

^y Sciatis me dedisse, et in perpetuam elemosinam concessisse DEO et sanctæ *Mariæ* et MONIALIBUS *Cestræ*, &c. *Monasticon*, i. 507.

^z *Harleian MSS.* N^o 2057. 36.

twenty-two yards long and fifteen broad; and supported in the middle by a row of pillars. The chapel was nine yards by four three-quarters; the cloisters thirty yards by twenty-one. It stood in the nursery-garden on the west side of the city, still called the *Nun's garden*, where vestiges of the walls and arches are yet remaining. That beautiful bird, the *rose-coloured ouzel*^a, was, a few years ago, shot in this garden.

HOSPITAL.

WITHOUT the *North-gate* stood a hospital dedicated to *St. John the Baptist*, and formerly a sanctuary, and endowed with great priveleges. The mastership was granted by *Edward II.* to the prior of *Berkinhead* and his successors; but afterwards disposed of by the crown to secular clergy. The house, at the dissolution, consisted of a chaplain and six poor brethren, whose income, after reprisals, was 13*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*^b. Mention is made by bishop *Tanner*^c of the liberties of the hospital of *St. Giles* being confirmed by *Edward III.* I am told, that a fragment, supposed to be a part of this edifice, is to be seen in the *Forest street*.

THE last antient hospital was instituted for lepers, in the suburbs of *Boughton*, about the beginning of *Edward II.*'s reign; I think, opposite to the place of execution: the burying-ground is still made use of by the parish of *St. Oswald*.

^a *Br. Zool.* II. 627. App.

^b *Tanner*, 64.

^c *Ib.* 65.

THE number of parishes are nine. None of the churches are remarkable, excepting those of *St. Peter's* and *Trinity*, distinguished by their handsome spires. The first^d was finished in 1489; when the parson and others signalized themselves by eating part of a goose on it, and flinging the rest into the four streets^e.

THE number of inhabitants^f, including the suburbs of *Boughton* and *Hanbridge*, are estimated to be fourteen thousand seven hundred and thirteen. The houses are almost entirely situated on a dry sand-stone rock. Whether it be owing to that, the clearness of the air, and the purity of the water, it is certain that the proportion of deaths among the inhabitants is only as one to thirty-one; whereas I am informed, by my worthy friend Doctor *Haygarth*^g of this city, that in *Leeds*, one in twenty-one; in *Northampton* and *Shrewsbury*, one in twenty-six; and in *London*, one in twenty and three-fourths, annually pay the great tribute of nature.

I DO not recollect any thing remarkable on the outside of the walls which has been unnoticed, unless it be the *Rood-eye*, and the adjacent places.

^d *St. Peter's* spire, which formed a beautiful termination to *Bridge street*, was taken down a few years ago. ED.

^e *King*, i. 76.

^f In the general return of 1801, the population of *Chester* was stated at 15,052 souls. It is now said to approach nearly to 15,500. ED.

^g Now practising at *Bath*. ED.

The *Dec*, after quitting the contracted pass at the bridge, flows beneath an incurvated clayey cliff, and washes on the right a fine and extensive meadow, long since protected against its ravages by a lofty dike. I imagine, that it lay open to the tides till about the year 1587, when the corporation (to whom it belongs) demised to one *Thomas Lyneal*, servant to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, this pasture for the term of twenty-one years, together with as much land as he could gain to it from the sea. He was also to make at his own costs a quay for boats and barks to unload at full sea, near the water-gate; for which he was at first to have two-pence for every vessel passing by with any lading; but after that, the sum was encreased to four-pence; and *Lyneal* was to pay an annual rent of 20*l.* to the city. At first he met with some obstructions: Sir *Francis* therefore interfered, in order that his servant might proceed without further interruption^h.

THE name of this spot is taken from *eye*, its watery situation, and *rood*, the cross which stood there, whose base is still to be seen. On this place the lusty youth, in former days, exercised themselves in the manly sports of the age; in archery, running, leaping, and wrestling; in mock-fights, and gallant and romantic triumphs. From hints dropt by *Daniel King*, I imagine them to

^h *Harleian MSS.* N^o 2082, 31. 34.

have been of the same nature with those practised by the young men of the metropolis, described by *Fitz-Stēphen*, a writer cotemporary with *Henry II.*

‘ The lay sons of the citizens rush out of the gates
 ‘ in shoals, furnished with lances and shields; the
 ‘ younger sort with javelins pointed, but disarmed
 ‘ of their steel; they ape the feats of war, and act
 ‘ the sham-fight. Part take the field well mounted.
 ‘ The generous coursers neigh and champ the bit.
 ‘ At length when the course begins, and the
 ‘ youthful combatants are divided into classes or
 ‘ parties, one body retreats, and another pursues
 ‘ without being able to overtake them; while, in
 ‘ another quarter, the pursuers overtake the foe,
 ‘ unhorse them, and pass them many a length.
 ‘ The elders of the city and the fathers of the
 ‘ parties, and the rich and the wealthy, come into
 ‘ the field on horseback to behold the exercisesⁱ.’

One would imagine by what follows, the antient historian was describing the sports of *Ascanius* and his youthful train on the plains of *Sicily*:

Postquam omnem læti consessum, oculosque suorum
 Lustravere in equis, &c.

Now round the ring, before their fathers, ride
 The boys in all their military pride;
 Till the loud lash resounding from afar
 Gives the glad signal for the mimic war;
 Straight in three bands distinct they break away,
 Divide in order, and their ranks display:

ⁱ Vide *Fitz-Stephen's Descr. Lond.* translated by an antiquary, 1772. 46. 7, 8.

Swift at the summons they return, and throw
 At once their hostile lances at the foe:
 Then take a new excursion on the plain;
 Round within round, an endless course maintain;
 And now advance, and now retreat again;
 With well-dissembled rage their rivals dare,
 And please the crowd with images of war.
 Alternate now they turn their backs in flight,
 Now dart their lances, and renew the fight;
 Then in a moment from the combat cease,
 Rejoin their scatter'd bands, and move in peace.

PITT.

A STANDARD was the prize of emulation in the sports celebrated on the *Rood-eye*^k: but in the year 1609 the amusements took a new form; and under the reign of the peaceful *James*, the youthful cavaliers layed aside their mimic war, and began that species of horsemanship which the romantic philosopher, lord *Herbert*, thought unworthy of a man of honour; 'for,' says he, 'the exercise I do not approve, is the running of horses, there being much 'cheating in that kind,'

THE first prizes we hear of, after the suppression of the triumph, were a bell and a bowl, to be run for on St. *George's* day; which were provided in 1609 by Mr. *Robert Amery*, formerly sheriff of the city, and were brought down to the *Rood-eye* with great solemnity. This seems to have been the origin of the plate given by the city, and annually run for on the same day, to the present time. A bell was a common prize: a little golden bell

^k Which was won in 1578 by sheriff *Montford* on *Shrove-Tuesday*.

was the reward of victory in 1607, at the races near *York*; whence came the proverb for success of any kind, *to bear the bell*.

AT one end of the *Rood-eye* stands the *House of* POOR-HOUSE. *Industry*; a large and useful building, founded in 1757, by money raised by the city on life-annuities, for several improvements within its liberties. Here the indigent are provided for in a fit manner, and to the great ease of the parishes; which are relieved from the burden of a numerous poor, who are too idle to work, and too proud to enter into this comfortable *Asylum*. Those of the parish of *Hawarden* are also sent here, by virtue of an agreement made between the governors of this charity and the overseers of the poor of that parish. The inmates contribute by some coarse linen manufactures, towards their support.

A LITTLE beyond this building are the quays, QUAYS. cranes, warehouses, and other requisites for carrying on the naval trade of the city. These are opposite to the *Water-gate*; and have been much improved of late years, and the intervening space filled with a neat street. Ships of 350 tons burden can now reach the quays, where the spring-tides rise at a medium fifteen feet: the neap-tides, eight. In the year 1674, this port was in so deplorable a state, and so choaked with sands, that a vessel of twenty tons could not arrive here; but

the ships were obliged to lie under *Neston*, ten miles distant; which gave rise to the assemblage of houses called *Parkgate*, built on the shore beneath that town. A quay, called the *New quay*, (now in ruins) was erected near this place in the beginning¹ of the seventeenth century, for the conveniency of loading and unloading the vessels trading with *Chester*; and the goods were carried to and from the city by land. The misfortune of the port of *Chester* at length gave rise to the prosperity of *Liverpool*, about this time a very inconsiderable place. It now began to discover its own advantages of situation; and quickly emerged from its despicable state to its present flourishing condition.

NEW CUT.

IN 1674, some friend to the former prevailed on Mr. *Andrew Yarranton*, a gentleman extremely conversant in the commercial advantages of this island, to make a survey of the river *Dee* and its estuary. He drew a plan, formed the project of a new channel, a scheme for recovering from the sea a large tract of land, and restoring the antient navigation even to the present quays: and this he got to be presented to the duke of *York*, the patron, at that time, of all useful undertakings. He also suggested the idea of a canal from the collieries at *Aston* near *Hawarden*; which was

¹ *Harleian MSS.* N^o 2003. 39.

to drop into this new channel, and facilitate the carriage of coal up to the city^m. Future times had the advantage of his inventive genius. Both plans were brought into execution without any great deviation from Mr. *Yarranton's* project. His new cut was to end opposite to *Flint*; the present opens opposite to *Wepra*, on this side of *Flint*. Sir *John Glynne's* little canalⁿ approaches the *Dee*, about two miles below the city. Mr. *Yarranton's* coal canal was to fall into the *Dee* near to *Flint*.

AN act of parlement was obtained for the recovering and preserving the navigation of the river, for settling the duties on ships, and for the establishing two ferries for the conveniency of travellers into the county of *Flint*. Other acts were passed in the years 1732, 1740, 1743, 1752; and the works were begun with vigor. The project was carried on by subscription; and the adventurers were to be rewarded by the land they were empowered to gain on both sides, from 'the *white sands* or the sea from *Chester*; and between 'the county of *Cheshire*, on the north side, and the 'county of *Flint*, on the south side; being sands, 'soil, and ground not bearing grass.' Party contests at first filled the subscriptions: zeal for the house of *Hanover* was at that time mixed, in this

^m Mr. *Andrew Yarranton's* *England's Improvements by Sea and Land*, &c. 4to, *London*, 1677. His plan for that of the *Dee*, is at p. 192.

ⁿ This canal is no longer used. Ed.

city, with zeal for its commercial interest; but it was soon discovered to be the *madness of many, but the gain of few*. The expences proved enormous; multitudes were obliged to sell out at above ninety *per cent.* loss; and, their shares being bought by persons of more wealth and foresight, at length the plan was brought to a considerable degree of utility; and a fine canal formed, guarded by vast banks, in which the river is confined for the space of ten miles; along which ships of three hundred and fifty tons burthen may safely be brought up to the quays. Much land has been gained from the sea; and good farms now appear in places not long since possessed by the unruly element.

I REMEMBER an almost useless tide flowing about the water-tower, the antient channel of the *Dee* passing under *Blacon* point; and the access to the county of *Flint*, on this side, open only at the recess of tides, and annually occasioning the loss of multitudes of lives. Two ferries are established at fit places. The lower is the proper passage for travellers by *Holyhead* into the kingdom of *Ireland*; and calls aloud for the aid of a turnpike, to render it at all times pervious; or the road may be continued to *Saltney*, along the flat, so as to fall into the other turnpike on the marsh.

TRADE.

I SHALL now take a short view of the trade^o of

^o A comparative statement of the trade of *Chester* in 1786, 1796, and 1806, will be found in the Appendix. Ed.

this city, as it stood in the years 1771 and 1776. I bring the last into sight, in order to shew how far this port has been affected by the commotions of our *American* subjects; and oppose it to the commerce of 1771, when it appears to have been in its meridian, since the restoration of the channel. In 1771 were entered inwards

297 coasting vessels; 19 of which were laden with groceries, and other goods from *London*.

526 coast ships outwards; of these 23 came from the port of *London*, and were laden here with lead, iron cannon, two thousand tons of cheese, and other goods.

In the same year, 95 vessel were entered inwards from foreign parts; and 216 entered outwards from *Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and America*.

FROM *Norway* and the *Baltic*, are imported timber, flax, tallow, hemp, iron, and deals.

FROM *Leghorn*, large quantities of kid and lamb skins; which are manufactured by the glovers, after being dressed here. This, in fact, is the only manufacture which the city can boast of. I find, that in the reigns of queen *Elizabeth, James I.* and the beginning of that of *Charles I.* here was a vast trade in calves skins. In the first of those monopolizing times, the queen grants one *Arthur*

Balsano a licence to export 6000 dickers of leather of calves skins, ten dozens to every dicker, for seven years, paying five shillings *per* dicker. *James I.* granted to *James Maxwell* esq. a licence to export 18,000 dickers, for the same duty, and for twenty-one years; and this was afterwards confirmed to him by *Charles I.* This *Maxwell* was one of the grooms of the bed-chamber to his majesty; and in the preceding reign, by a piece of insolence to a gentleman of the inns of court, brought on him the resentment of the *English*; and was obliged to atone for it by making due submission. The first grant might be made to him by *James*, in amends for the mortifications he had undergone.

FROM *Spain* and *Portugal* are imported great quantities of cork, fruit, oil of olives, nuts, *barilla* ashes, and raisins; and several hundred tons of wine from *Portugal*; which last form the greatest foreign import of this city.

WHILE the trade with *America* was open, fish and oil were brought from *Newfoundland*; and a small trade was carried on with *Carolina*.

THE exports this year were upwards of 6000 chaldrons of coal from the *Cheshire* and *Flintshire* collieries (which lie within this port); 1000 tons of lead; 300 of lead ore; 300 of oak bark; all

these to foreign parts. Besides 3470 tons of lead, and 431 of lead ore, sent coastways; that is, to the ports of *London* and *Liverpool*, *ve! nimum vicina!* for the purpose of re-exportation.

IN 1776, 208 coasting vessels were entered inwards, and 619 outwards.

166 ships entered inwards from foreign parts, including those trading between *Dublin* and *Parkgate*; and 131 outwards. The following table will shew the division of the commerce, at that period :

	Inwards.	Outwards.
<i>America</i> , - - - -	2	5
<i>France</i> , - - - -	—	11
<i>Flanders</i> , - - - -	—	1
<i>Holland</i> , - - - -	—	1
<i>Ireland</i> , - - - -	140	104
<i>Isle of Man</i> , - - -	3	4
<i>Portugal</i> , - - - -	3	3
<i>Spain</i> , - - - -	4	—
<i>Italy</i> , - - - -	3	1
<i>Norway, Russia, and</i> { <i>Prussia</i> , }	10	1

2877 chaldrons of coal, 1184 tons of lead, and 168 of lead ore, were sent abroad; but so exhausted are our oak-trees, that only 18 tons of bark were shipped. 2813 tons of lead, and 431 of lead ore, were sent coastways.

FROM the table of entries it appears, that the great trade of this city is with *Ireland*; which receives annually from hence (as a magazine) large quantities of hops, woollen cloths, worsted stuffs, hosiery, fustians, *Manchester* goods, cheese, wrought iron, iron great guns, hardware, bound and unbound books, carpets, flint glass, wrought silks, and great quantities of foreign goods sent from *London* by land, and shipped from this port.

IN return, it imports from *Ireland*, at the *Midsummer* and *Michaelmas* fairs, upwards of 1000 boxes and packs of linen cloth, containing 25,000 pieces at lest: besides 300 boxes or packs imported into *Liverpool*, and sent across the *Mersey* to *Ince*, from whence they are conveyed in carts to *Chester*. These form all together a million of yards each fair. This trade began no longer ago than the year 1736, in which 449,654 yards were imported. The importation continually increased till the last year of the late war; from which period it has been on a par^a.

IRELAND also sends considerable quantities of lamb-skins, wool, linen and bay yarn, tallow, hides,

^a Irish Linen imported at Chester.

In	Packs.	Chests.	Boxes.	Bales.	Cases.	Parcels.	Bund.
1786	1684	14	988	20	16	6	8
1796	582	—	808	4	—	—	—
1806	327	—	936	—	—	—	—

The "By Goods" imported at *Liverpool*, or brought from *Manchester*, &c. may be averaged at 60 packs and 740 boxes each year.
ED.

butter, feathers, and quills, ox bones and hoofs, glue, sheep and cat guts; calve-velves, provisions, and live cattle.

THE number of ships belonging to this place shew the uncommercial genius of its inhabitants; there being only twenty-two in the foreign trade, containing in all 1449 tons, and 169 men: and 13 in the coast trade, whose tonnage is 680 tons, and number of men 58: yet the port extends, on the *Cheshire* side of the estuary, as far as the end of *Wiral*; and on the *Flintshire*, to the *Vôr-rôd*, or the mouth of the *Clwyd*. This, properly speaking, is only a division of the great port of *Chester*, which reaches one way as far as *Barmouth* in *Meirioneddshire*, and another way to the extremity of *Lancashire*. In those tracts are several other ports, all subordinate to the comptroller of *Chester*; and even *Liverpool*, in the patent, is styled a creek of the port of *Chester*.

THERE was lately a very fair prospect of adding much to the trade of the city, by an inland navigation, which was begun with great spirit a few years ago. It was to run through the county beneath *Beeston* castle, and to terminate near *Middlewich*. Another^r branch was to extend to *Namptwich*. One mouth opens into the *Dec*, below the water-tower. A fine bason is formed,

CANAL.

^r This branch is executed, and produces a trifling trade in consequence of its communication with the *Ellesmere* canal. Ed.

into which the boats are to descend, by means of five successive locks, beneath the northern walls of the city, cut in the live rock. A few miles of this design are completed: but, by an unhappy miscalculation of expence, and by unforeseen difficulties occurring in the execution, such enormous charges were incurred, as to put a stop for the present to all proceedings. The other branch, which was to extend towards *Middlewich*, was to end within a limited distance from the great canal between the *Trent* and *Mersey* navigation. The great objects were the salt and cheese trade; and coal for the supply of the interior parts of *Cheshire* from the vast collieries in *Staffordshire*. Share also in the exportation of hard-ware, earthen-ware, and all the manufactures of the internal part of the kingdom within its reach, might have been reasonably expected.

THE idea of a canal along the dead flat between *Chester* and *Ince* has been long since conceived, by persons very conversant in the nature of the trade of this city. One mouth might have opened into the *Dee* in the place of the present; another near *Ince*, which would create a ready intercourse with *Liverpool*, the *Weever*, and the salt-works and great dairies on that river; with *Warrington*, and with the flourishing town of *Manchester*, and

^s A design recently carried into effect, and proving of infinite service to the commercial interests of *Chester*. ED.

a numerous set of places within reach of the *Mersey*, and of the canal belonging to that useful Peer, the duke of *Bridgewater*, to which the greatest of our inland navigations is connected. This little cut the city might, and still may, enjoy unenvied, unrivalled; and, what is a material consideration, the distance is trifling (seven miles^t), the expences small, and the profits to the undertakers great.

ON leaving the city, I repassed *Hanbridge*; and at the maypole took the left-hand road, which is a continuation of the *Roman* road from the river. The strait direction is the only proof of its antiquity, till it falls into the fields on the left, where its track is often distinguishable by certain ridges or elevated spots. The farmer also, in digging, often falls on adventitious matters; such as gravel, and remains of pavements. It points towards *Eccleston*, near which are the reliques of a mount; the site, perhaps, of a small castlet. It passes through *Eaton* park, and crosses the *Dee* at *Oldford*.

THE village of *Eccleston* is prettily seated near ECCLESTON. the *Dee*, and commands a view of the towers and spires of *Chester* rising above the wooded banks. The most extensive prospect is from a bench on *Eccleston* hill, on the road-side; which takes in the vast environs of *Wales*, *Cheshire*, and part of *Shropshire*, forming an admirable composition of

^t According to *Burdet's* map.

rich cultivation, bounded by hills of various forms.

ECCLESTON retains the same name which it had at the Conquest. It was held at that time by *Gilbert de Venables*, from *Hugh Lupus*; before that event, by *Edwin* a freeman. On the demesne land were two servants, four villeyns, and a boor, a boat and a net. Part of the place afterwards fell to the *Vernons* of *Kinderton*; and finally, by a late purchase, was added by the family of the *Grosvenors* to their antient property in this parish. The church is a rectory dedicated to *St. Mary*.

EATON.

A LITTLE farther is *Eaton*, or the hamlet on the water; a name the most common of any in *England*. At the Conquest, here was a fishery, which employed six fishermen, and yielded a thousand salmon. This fishery has long since ceased; but during its existence, the minister of *Eccleston* claimed the twentieth fish. The^u seat of the antient family of the *Grosvenors* lies in this township; a brick house built about the latter end of the seventeenth century. The *Grosvenors* came in with the Conqueror, and took their name from the office they held in the *Norman* court, that of grand huntsman. Their first settlement in this

^u *Eaton Hall* has been recently rebuilt by *Robert Earl Grosvenor*, in the richest stile of *Gothic* architecture, after the designs of the ingenious *Mr. Porden*. The munificence of that worthy nobleman, and the skill of the same architect, have been shewn in the erection of a new parish church at *Eccleston*. ED.

county was *Over Lostock*, bestowed by *Hugh Lupus* on his great nephew *Robert le Grosvenour*. In 1234, *Richard le Grosvenour* purchased and fixed his seat at *Hulme*: but in the reign of *Henry VI.* by the marriage of *Rawlin* or *Ralph Grosvenour* with *Joan* daughter of *John Eaton* of *Eaton*, esq. it was transferred to this place. While chivalry was the passion of the times, few families shone in so distinguished a manner: none shewed equal spirit in vindicating their right to their honors. Witness the famous cause between *Sir Robert le Grosvenour* with *Sir Richard le Scrope*, plaintiff, about a coat of arms, *azure one bend, or*; tried before the high constable and high marshal of *England*, in the reign of *Richard II.* which lasted three years. Kings, princes of the blood, and most of the nobility, bore witness in this important affair. The sentence was conciliating, that both parties should bear the same arms; but the GROSVENOURS *avec une bordure d'argent*. *Sir Robert* resents it; appeals to the king. The judgment is confirmed: the choice is left to the defendant, either to use the *bordure*, or to bear the arms of their relations, the antient earls of *Chester*, *azure a gerbe d'or*. He rejected the mortifying distinction, and chose the *gerbe*; which is the family coat to this day.

Cross the *Dee* at *Eaton-bout*, leaving on the right *Oldford bridge*; a neat structure, forming

OLDFORD.

another communication between the two parts of the hundred of *Broxton*; which at the time of the Conquest, bore the name of *Dudestan* hundred.

FARN.

AFTER riding along a dirty flat country, reach *Farn*, or *Farndon*; a small town on the *Dee*, called in Doomsday book *Ferenton*. The church was burnt by the parlement army in 1645, during the siege of *Holt* castle; and re-built after the cessation of the war. In one window, over the pew of the respectable family of *Barnston*, is some very beautiful painted glass, of a commander in his tent, with a truncheon in his hand, surrounded with the military instruments in use during the reign of *Charles I.* Around these are sixteen elegant figures of different ranks of soldiery, as low as the drummer, with their respective badges. Over the heads of the officers are coats of arms; over that of the commander are those of *Gamul*; and seem intended to preserve the memory of Sir *Francis Gamul* baronet, the active mayor of *Chester* during the civil wars. Over the heads of three others are the arms of the *Grosvenors*, the *Mainwarings*, and the *Barndistons*; three loyalists, who served in the same cause: *Roger Grosvenor*; Sir *William Mainwaring*, who was slain in defence of *Chester*; and *William Barndiston* of *Chirton*, esq. who died in 1664.

This town is separated from

DENBIGHSHIRE

by an antient stone bridge of ten arches, with the vestiges of a guard-house in the middle; the date, 1345, was preserved, till very lately, on a stone over the arch called the *Lady's arch*. HOLT, HOLT, another small town, stands on an eminence on the *Welsh* side, an antient borough and corporation, consisting of a mayor, two bailiffs, and a coroner. The inhabitants, with those of *Ruthin* and *Denbigh*, enjoy the privelege of contributing towards sending a burgess to parlement. This town was incorporated by charter, granted by *Thomas* earl of *Arundel*, dated from his castle of *Lyons* 1410. CHARTER. The grant is very partial, running in this form, *To the burgesses of our town, and to their heirs and successors, being* ENGLISHMEN. This might arise from the hatred of the lord marchers to the *Welsh*, on account of the insurrection of *Glyndwr*, at that time scarcely suppressed. This instilled into the inhabitants a spirit, retained, perhaps, to this moment; for within these few years they were the most irascible and pugnacious of all the neighbourhood.

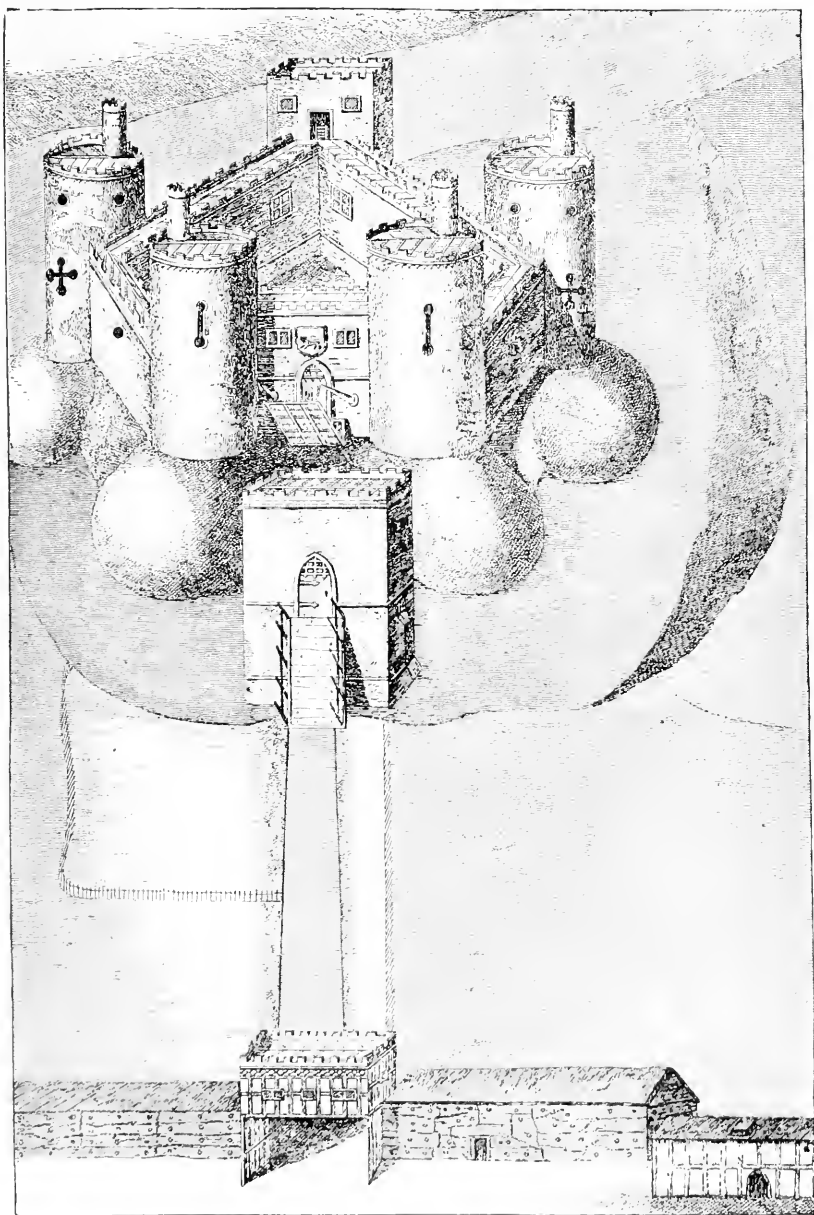
This town is in the parish of *Gresford*, but in the diocese of *Chester*. It is the only appertenance remaining on this side of the *Dee*, of the vast grant made by *Edward* the Confessor to that see, of all

the land on the other side of the river; which he first gave and then took from our prince *Gryffydd ap Ilewelyn*^x. The church is a very handsome building; yet no more than a chapel to the former: it is in the gift of the dean and chapter of *Winchester*, and has its parish officers like other places. On the font are the arms of the *Warrens*; in a window, those of the *Stanleys*, former owners of the place.

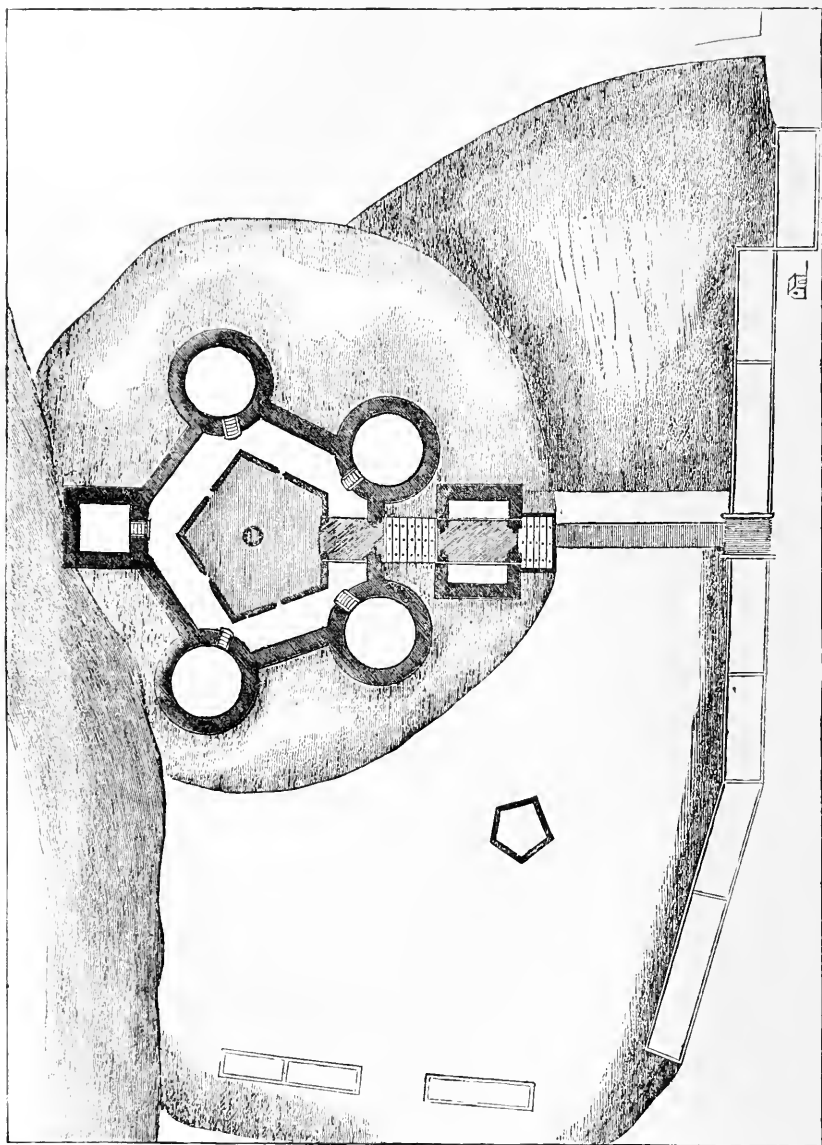
CASTLE. THE poor reliques of the castle are seated close to the river; and are insulated by a vast foss cut through a deep bed of soft red stone; which seems originally to have been thus quarried for the building of the castle. This fortress consisted of five bastions, and the work cut into that form, to serve as a base to as many towers. An antient survey I met with in the *Museum*, among the *Harleian MSS.* taken in 1620 by *John Norden*, when it was entire, will give a true idea of this curious structure. It had been defended in three parts by the great chasm formed by the quarry; on the fourth by the *Dec*, into which jutted a great quay, still to be seen in very dry seasons; for it has long since been covered by the encroachment of the river.

ORIGINALLY this place had been a small outpost to *Deva*. Slopes, and other now almost obsolete

^x *Doomsday Book in Leicester*, 405.



MOLT CASTLE IN 1870.



PLAN OF HOLT CASTLE.

works, may be seen near the castle, and on the opposite side of the water; and coins have been found hère, that put the matter out of doubt. I have seen some of *Antoninus*, *Galienus*, *Constantinus*, and *Constantius*. I conjecture that the Roman name had been *Castra Legionis*, and the Welsh, *Castell Lleon*, or the castle of the legion; because it was garrisoned by a detachment of the legion stationed at *Chester*. The English borderers might easily mistake *Lleon* for the plural of *Llew*, which signifies a lion, and so call it the castle of *Lions*; as we find it styled when it came into possession of earl *Warren* and his successors.

THIS country formed part of *Powysland*; which, POWYSLAND. when entire, reached in a strait line from *Brocton* hills in *Cheshire*, southerly to *Pengwern Powys*, or *Shrewsbury*, including a large tract in both these counties; from thence through the eastern limits of *Montgomeryshire*, comprehending all that county, part of *Radnorshire* and *Brecknockshire*; then turning northward, including the cwmwds of *Mowddwy*, *Edeirnion*, and *Glyndyfrdwy*, *Meirioneddshire*, and (circuiting part of *Denbighshire*) came along part of the *Clwydian* hills, to the summit of *Moel-famma*, including all *Denbighshire*, excepting those parts which at present constitute the lordships of *Denbigh* and *Ruthin*; from hence, taking a south-easterly direction to *Brocton* hills, asserted its right to *Molesdale*, *Hopedale*, and

Maclor, in *Flintshire*. I have before taken notice, that *Offa's* encroachment was but temporary, and of short duration. I must farther observe, that in the article of pacification^y between *Henry III.* and our last prince *Ilewelyn*, the limits of the principality experienced but a very small diminution from what it was in *Offa's* time, when it was agreed, that the *Dee* should be the boundary from *Wiral* to *Castrum Leonum*, or *Holt*; and from thence in a direct line to *Pengwern Powys*.

It was, perhaps, of much greater extent under the reign of *Brochwel Ysgythrog*, who was defeated by the *Saxons* at the battle of *Chester*. After this event, the borders became a scene of rapine; the *Welsh* and the *Mercians* alternately making the most terrible inroads into each other's dominions^z, till the time of *Offa*; who passing the *Severn* with a mighty force, expelled the *Britons* from their fruitful seats on the plains, and reduced the kingdom of *Powys* to the western side of the celebrated ditch still known by his name. The princes of *Powys* were then constrained to quit their antient residence at *Pengwern*, or *Shrewsbury*, and remove it to one not less fertile, to *Mathraval*, in the beautiful vale of *Meivod*. From this period, their kingdom was called indifferently, that of *Powys*, or of *Mathraval*. The plains of *Shropshire*

^y *Porel's* notes on *Girald. Itin. Cambr.* lib. ii. c. 11. p. 875.

^z *BEDE Hist.* lib. ii. c. 2. p. 80. *Sac. Chr.* 25.

became a confirmed part of the *Mercian* kingdom. The *trans-sabrine* portion of *Gloucestershire* and *Worcestershire*, and the county of *Hereford*, submitted to the yoke; but, after some time, the tract which forms the country above *Croes Oswallt*, or *Oswestry*, and the two *Maelors Cymraeg* or the present *Bromfield*, and *Saesneg* or the present *Flintshire Maelor*, with many other *Cwmwuds*, relapsed to its natural masters. Such was its state till 843, the reign of RODERIC THE GREAT prince of all *Wales*; who, in his mother's right, possessed *North Wales*; in that of his wife, *South Wales*; and by that of his grand-mother *Nest*, sister and heiress to *Congen ap Cadell* king of *Powys*, he added *Powysland* to his dominions^a. He, according to the destructive custom of gavelkind, divided his principality among his children; to *Anarawd* he gave NORTH WALES; to *Cadell*, SOUTH WALES; to *Merfyn*, POWYSLAND. Each wore a *Talaith* or diadem of gold, beset with precious stones; whence they were styled *Y Tri Tywysog Talcithiog*, or the three crowned princes.

AFTER the death of *Merfyn*, *Cadell* usurped the portion of his brother. His eldest son, *Howel Dda*, or the Good, in 940, again united all *Wales* into one government. He left four sons, who divided *South Wales* and *Powys* between them; while *North Wales* was assumed, in 948, by *Jevaf*

^a *Powel*, 35.

and *Jago*, sons to his predecessor *Edwal Voel*. The confusion that ensued on this occasion, prevents me from saying any thing with certainty, till *Bleddyn ap Cynfyn*, who ruled *Wales* at the time of the Conquest, re-united the kingdoms of *North Wales* and *Powys*. The succession to the principality passed away from his children; but *Powysland* devolved to his sons; which came at length entire to *Meredydd*, the eldest born, after the contentions and slaughter usual on such partitions^b.

MEREDYDD made the division which finally destroyed the power of this once potent kingdom. To his eldest son *Madoc*, he gave the part which bore afterwards the name of *Powys Fadoc*: to *Gryffydd*, the portion which was called *Gwenwynwyn*^c.

I LEAVE to a future disquisition, the account of the remaining parts of *Powysland*. I shall only trace the succession of the first, which belongs more particularly to my subject. POWYS FADOC consisted, according to the division of the times, of five *Cantrefs* or hundred townships; and these were subdivided into fifteen *Cwmnuds*.

CANTREF Y BARWN.	{	<i>Dinmael</i> ^d ,	<i>Denbighshire.</i>
		<i>Edeyrnion</i> ,	<i>Merionethshire.</i>
		<i>Glyndyfrdwy</i> ,	<i>Ibid.</i>
CANTREF Y RHIW,	{	<i>Yale</i> , or <i>Jâl</i> ,	<i>Denbighshire.</i>
		<i>Ystrad Alun</i> , or <i>Mold</i> ,	<i>Flintshire.</i>
		<i>Hope</i> ,	<i>Ibid.</i>

^b *Powel*, notes upon *Girald. Itin. Cambr.* lib. ii. c. 12.

^c *Powel*, 211.

^d *Llangwm Dinmael*, *Cerreg y Druidion*, &c.

CANTREF UWCHNANT,	{ <i>Merffordd,</i> <i>Maelor Gymraeg,</i> or } <i>Bromfield,</i> <i>Maelor Saesneg,</i>	{ in <i>Flintshire.</i> <i>Denbighshire.</i> <i>Flintshire.</i>
CANTREF TREFRED,	{ <i>Croes-vaen,</i> and <i>Tref y Waun,</i> or <i>Chirk,</i> } <i>Croes Oswallt,</i> or <i>Os-</i> <i>westry,</i>	{ in <i>Denbighshire.</i> <i>Shropshire.</i>
CANTREF RHAIDR,	{ <i>Mochmant-is-Rhaiadr,</i> <i>Kynllaeth,</i> &c. <i>Nan heudwy,</i> <i>Whittington,</i>	{ <i>Denbighshire.</i> <i>Shropshire.</i>

Madoc married *Susannah*, daughter of *Gryffydd ap Cynan* prince of *North Wales*, by whom he had two sons; *Gryffydd Maelor*, and *Owen ap Madoc*. To the first he gave the two *Maelors*, *Yale*, *Hope-dale*, and *Nan heudwy*, and *Mochmant is Rhaiadr*, &c.: to *Owen*, the land of *Mechain Is-coed*: and, to his natural son *Owen Brogyntyn*, a young man of great merit, *Edeyrnion* and *Dinmael*^e. *Gryffydd* married *Angharad*, the daughter of *Owen Gwynedd*, and had one son named *Madoc*, in whom the inheritance remained entire.

WE now hasten to the end of the line. *Madoc* had only one son, *Gryffydd*, commonly called lord of *Dinas Brân*, because he made that fortress his chief residence. He unfortunately became enamoured of *Emma*, an *English* lady, daughter of *James* lord *Audley*: who alienating his affections from his country, made him one instrument of its subjection, and of the destruction of his own

^e *Powel*, 211.

family. He took part with *Henry* III. and *Edward* I. against his natural prince. The resentment of his countrymen was raised against him; and he was obliged to confine himself in his castle of *Dinas Brân*, where probably grief and shame put an end to his life. He left four children, *Madoc*, *Llewelyn*, *Gryffydd*, and *Owen*. Historians^f have been mistaken, in supposing that the two first had been murdered in their childhood, for the sake of their estates, by *John* earl *Warren*, and *Roger* son of lord *Mortimer* of *Wigmore*. But it appears that they were arrived at the state of manhood before the death of their father, which happened in 1270. We find all the four sons witnesses to the settlement made by *Gryffydd* on their mother *Emma*; and after his death, we find the four joining in a renewal and confirmation of their father's settlement, and in making to it considerable additions^g; all which could not have been the acts of infants. The children who were murdered, were the sons of *Madoc*, eldest son of *Gryffydd*. *Edward* I. had given the guardianship of one (who was to have had for his share the lordship of *Bromfield* and *Yale*, the castle of *Dinas Brân*, and the reversion of *Maelor Saesneg*, after the death of his mother) to *John* earl *Warren*; and of the other (who was

^f *Poore*, 212.

^g These settlements I found among the manuscripts which Sir *John Sebright* was so obliging as to lend to me.

to have possessed the lordships of *Chirk* and *Nanheudwy*) to *Roger Mortimer*, son of lord Mortimer, of *Wigmore*. These lords soon conspired to free themselves from their charge, and possess themselves of their estates: and accordingly caused the poor children to be drowned under *Holt* bridge. This I discovered in a manuscript, communicated to me by the Reverend JOHN PRICE, keeper of the *Bodleian* library. Before that, the manner of their deaths was current in the country, under the fable of two young fairies, who had been destroyed in that manner, and in the same place; but the foundation of the tale was, till very lately, totally lost.

HAVING now brought the succession to the required period, I shall only say, that *Gryffydd*, the third son, was suffered to enjoy his portion of *Glyndyfrdwy*; from whom sprung OWEN, the great avenger of the wrongs of his family: and the fourth son, *Owen*, received for his share, *Cynllaeth*. This afterwards devolved to *Gryffydd*, father of *Glyndwr*.

THE barbarity of the two guardians, so far from being punished by their master, was rewarded. *Warren* had the grant of *Dinas Brân* and all *Bromfield* confirmed to him, dated from *Rhuddland*, October 7th, 1281^h; *Mortimer*, that of *Chirk*. The former began immediately to secure his ill-gotten possessions by building *Holt* Castle; but

^h AYLOFF'S *Rotuli Walliæ*, 81.

dying, left the finishing of it to his son *William*. Before this grant, a family of the name of *Holt*, held this place; I suppose under its lord paramount. Those estates continued in the family till 1347, when, on the death of *John* earl *Warren*, they devolved to *Edward Fitzalan* earl of *Arundel*, in right of his wife *Alice*, sister to the former. *Warren* had been divorced from his wife *Joan de Baars*, and had obtained from *Edward II.* a grant of his *Welsh* estates, and others in *Surrey* and *Sussex*, in favor of *John* and *Thomas*, his sons by *Maud de Nereford*, to whom he had been contracted before his marriage with *Joan*. These children, probably, died without issue; the estates reverting, as he had in such a case provided, to his own right heirsⁱ.

THESE estates continued with the *Fitzalans* during three generations. *Richard II.* probably seized on them after the execution of *Richard* earl of *Arundel*; for we find that unhappy prince had lodged in *Holt* Castle, during his *Irish* expedition, jewels to the value of two hundred thousand marks, and a hundred thousand marks in coin^k; which, with the fortress, were delivered to *Bolingbroke*, previous to the deposition of *Richard*. *Thomas*, the son of *Richard*, was restored in blood in the following reign. He died in 1416, without issue; and his unsettled estates fell to his sisters, *Eliza-*

ⁱ *Dugdale's Baron*, i. 82.

^k *Holinshed*.

beth, who had married *Thomas Mowbray* duke of *Norfolk*, but then wife to *Sir Gerard Usefleet*; and *Joan*, who had married *William Beauchamp* lord of *Abergavenny*. This occasioned a further division of these estates. *Joan's* share fell again, by a daughter, to *Nevil* lord *Abergavenny*; after which, I lose sight of the succession till the reign of *Henry VII.* when that prince made a grant of them to *Sir William Stanley*. On his execution, *Henry* not only resumed the lordship, but seized on his vast effects; and found in *Holt* Castle, in money and plate, forty thousand marks, besides jewels, household goods, and cattle on his ground¹.

HENRY VIII. bestowed this lordship on his natural son *Henry Fitzroy* duke of *Richmond*; and had possession given him at its capital of *Holt*, in 1534, by the duke of *Norfolk* and others^m. He enjoyed his honor but a short time, dying at the age of seventeen, in the year 1536.

IN the following reign, I find it in possession of *Thomas Seymour* lord admiral, and turbulent brother to the protector *Somerset*. He made the fortress at *Holt* subservient to his ambitious designs; and formed there a great magazine of warlike storesⁿ. His deserved but illegal execution again flung *Bromfield* into possession of the crown.

THE great earl of *Leicester* was in possession

¹ *Leicester*, 371. ^m *King*, ii. 195. ⁿ *Dugdale's Baron*, ii. 368.

of *Chirk*; and probably, of the whole lordship of *Bromfield*.

IN 1643, *Holt* Castle was in the hands of the crown; but in that year was seized for the use of the parlement, by Sir *William Brereton* and Sir *Thomas Middleton*^o. The royalists recovered the possession. In *February* 1645-6, it was closely besieged by major-general *Mytton*^p, and vigorously defended by the governor, Sir *Richard Lloyd* of *Ecclusham* near *Wrexham*, till the beginning of *April*, when it was surrendered, on articles, to colonel *Pope*, in the absence of the major-general, according to agreement. The governor having permission to go beyond sea, with three hundred pounds; and his lady, to enjoy his lands, being three hundred pounds a year^q. Immediately after the parlement got possession, it was ordered to be demolished.

The lordship is at present in the crown, under the direction of the steward of *Bromfield* and *Yale*; an office in his majesty's disposal: but a grant of the minerals (the far more valuable part) was made to the *Grosvenor* family in the reign of *Charles I.* subject to the annual payment of twenty shillings. An attempt was made by king *William* to alienate these important domains in favor of the

^o *Whitelock*, 77. Idem, 192. 201.

^p *Drake's Parlem. Hist.* xiv. 356.

^q *Whitelock*, 231.

earl of *Portland*, and his heirs for ever; but on a vigorous representation of the illegality, and particularly on the noble speech^r of *Robert Price* esq. afterwards baron of the exchequer, his majesty thought fit to withdraw the grant already made out in the treasury. The whole rents at that time resulting to the crown, amounted only to a thousand a year, besides mises, reliefs, and other contingent profits. The *mise* was, in *Wales*, a customary present made to the prince on his accession, in old times, in cattle or corn; but after its conquest, changed into money. It amounted to about five thousand pounds. It was payed thrice in the time of *James I.*; first, at his coming to the crown; secondly, on the creation of his son *Henry*, prince of *Wales*; thirdly, on the creation of *Charles*. *Elizabeth*, ever attentive to her prerogatives, claimed the *mise* on her accession, in *November* 1558. She appointed a commission for the receipt; but met with opposition in the town of *Caermarthen*, by the inhabitants, who alledged, that greater sums had been raised in their county, in the reigns of *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* than was answered to the prince. Several were imprisoned for their resistance, but afterwards released; and on their petition a compromise was made, that whenever a subsidy was granted to the

^r *Brittish Biogr.* vii. app. 141.

prince, no mise should be given; and the reverse when a mise was received^s.

ON leaving *Holt*, I returned over the bridge; and passing along a portion of

C H E S H I R E ,

in a flat country, with a pleasing view of the *Broxton* hills on the left, I reached the site of *Shocklach* castle. This, with great part of the ancient hundred of *Dudestan*, was held after the Conquest by *Robert Fitzhugh*, from *Hugh Lupus*. It belonged to the barony of *Malpas*; but on the division of it, one part came to *John de Sutton* baron of *Dudley*, the other to *Urien de Sancto Petro*. It was held of queen *Elizabeth*, as of her manor of *East Greenwich*. Nothing, excepting a foss, marks the place of this fortress. On the opposite side of the road is a vast mount, probably of far greater antiquity than the castle; and exploratory, commanding a great view around. By the name of *Stretton*, a neighbouring place, I conjecture that a *Roman* road went this way; but my time did not permit me to search after it.

AT a small distance from *Shocklach* castle, I entered *Maelor Saesneg*, a hundred of

^s *Strype's Annals*, i.—Introduction p. 14. he says, that corn and wine, to support the prince's family, on his accession were originally given.

FLINTSHIRE,

disjoined from the rest of the county. At the time of the making of the Domesday book, the lands about *Worthenbury*, *Overton*, and *Bettisfield* or the present parish of *Hanmer*, belonged to the hundred of *Dudestan*. But long before the forming of the new hundreds, which, according to Sir *Peter Leicester*, did not happen much later than the reign of *Edward III.* it is certain these places reverted to the descendants of the princes of *Powys*. It seems as if it acquired the name of *Saesneg*, from its having been the jointure of *Emma*, widow of *Gryffydd ap Madoc*, who was an Englishwoman. It consists of these parishes; *Worthenbury*, *Bangor*, *Hanmer*, and the chapelry of *Overton*, on this side of the *Dee*; of *Erbistock* on the other side, opposite to *Overton*; and of *Hope* in the other portion of the county of *Flint*^t. Part only of *Erbistock* is in *Flintshire*; the rest in *Denbighshire*. Besides these parishes, are several spots that belong to this hundred, insulated by the last county, which form nearly a connection between this and the other part of the hundred. The chain is supposed to have been once entire; but many of the links were often fields, which (by reason of

^t Parts in the other parishes are, *Is-coed* in *Malpas*, *Penley* in *Ellesmere*, and *Bodidris* in *Llanarmon*.

their smallness) were neglected and lost. One of the townships, *Dutton*, in *Holt* parish, is known to have belonged to this hundred; as that of *Abenbury Fechan*, in that of *Wrexham*, does at present. *Osley* and *Mereford*, the last in the parish of *Gresford*, were, by the 33d of *Henry VIII.* added to *Flintshire*, and assist to continue the chain towards *Hope*, the distant portion of this hundred. These were but recently made parts of *Flintshire*, in comparison of the rest of *Maelor Saesneg*; which was declared to constitute part of the county by *Edward I.* in the *Statutum Wallie*.

THE lordship or superiority of the hundred was granted (I believe) by *Henry IV.* to Sir *John Stanley* knight, and continued in his family till the 41st of *Elizabeth*; when *William* earl of *Derby* devised it to Sir *Randle Brereton*; and it has since devolved to Sir *Thomas Hanmer* baronet, and *Philip Lloyd Fletcher* esquire.

THIS part of *Flintshire* is under the same government as the rest; excepting the obligation of attending the county courts, which is dispensed with by reason of its distance from the towns where they are held. It has also occasionally a coroner of its own; but eligible by the county at large.

THE limit between this part of the hundred and *Cheshire* is *Flannen Brook*: about a mile beyond

is the village and church of *Worthenbury*; the last, a new, and neat brick building, dedicated to *St. Deiniol*; a rectory taken out of *Bangor*, and made a separate parish by an act of the second of *William and Mary*; in the presentation of the family of *Emral*. The name in the *Doomsday* book is *Hurlingberie*; before the *Conquest* held by earl *Edwin*.

I TOOK up my quarters at *Broughton*; a venerable wooden house, in possession of my respected kinsman *Peter Davies* esq. in right of his lady, eldest surviving sister to the late *Broughton Whitehall* esq. The *Whitehalls* were originally of *Staffordshire*; but settled here in 1663, by virtue of a marriage between *Rowland Whitehall* and *Elizabeth* daughter of *John Broughton*. The *Broughtons* derived themselves from the great *Welsh* stock *Tudor Trevor*, earl of *Hereford*, and assumed their name from this place, in the reign of *Henry VII*.

AT the back of this house lies the noted common of *Threap-wood*, from time immemorial a place of refuge for the frail fair, who make here a transient abode, clandestinely to be freed from the consequences of illicit love. Numbers of houses are scattered over the common for their reception. This tract, till of late years, had the ill-fortune to be extra-parochial; at first, either because it was in the hands of irreligious or careless owners, or being situated in a forest or desert

THREAP-
WOOD.

places", never was united to any parish. The inhabitants, therefore, considered themselves as beyond the reach of law, resisted all government, and even opposed the excise laws, till they were forced to submit; but not without bloodshed on the occasion. The very name of the place speaks the manners of the dwellers. *Threap-wood*, derived from the *Anglo-Saxon Threapian*, to *threap* (a word still in use), signifying to persist in a fact or argument, be it right or wrong. It is seated between the parishes of *Malpas*, *Hanmer*, and *Worthenbury*; but belonged to none, till it was, by the late militia acts, decreed to be in the last, for the purpose of the militia only; but by the mutiny act it is annexed to the parish of *Malpas*. Still doubts arise about the execution of several laws within this precinct. It is to be hoped, that the legislature will take an opportunity of rendering the magisterial power as valid here as in other places; especially when it is to be considered, that there are to the amount of two hundred and sixty-seven inhabitants, who want instruction in the doctrine of universal submission to law.

HANMER. FROM *Broughton* I made an excursion to *Hanmer*^x, distant about five or six miles: passed over

^u BLACKSTONE, 4to, i. 113.

^x Not far from *Hanmer* is *Iscoed*, long the seat of the *Roydons* (now extinct in the male line) sprung from *Richard Roydon*, of *Kent*, who came into *Bromfield* with the commissioners of lord *Abergarnny*, lord of the moiety of *Bromfield*, 20th *Henry VI*.

part of *Threap-wood*; and observed in the inclosures some venerable oaks, the remains of the antient forest. Cross *Sarn-bridge*, over the *Wichbrook*, which rises about two miles above, in part of the parish of *Malpas*, but in the county of *Flint*, near the *Wiches*; where are brine-springs and salt-works. Reach a house called *Willington-cross*. The country, which hitherto had been uncommonly wet and dirty, now changes to a sandy soil; and becomes broken into small risings. The part about the little town of *Hanmer* is extremely beautiful; varied with a lake of fifty acres, bounded on all sides with small cultivated eminencies, embellished with woods. The town, church, and the chief seat of the family of the *Hammers*, a modern brick house, adorn one part; and on the opposite side of the water, on the site of the old house of *Gredington*, another seat is projected by that eminent lawyer *Lloyd Kenyon* esquire^y, who is descended paternally from an antient family in

^y This distinguished character was created a peer of *Great Britain* in 1788, and in the same year was appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the duties of which important office he discharged in times of trouble and difficulty with unrivalled firmness, integrity, and abilities.—A friend to the rights of the crown and the liberties of the people, he was never biassed by the politics of the day, or allowed attachment to a party to direct his judgment.—The stern supporter of morality, his decisions may be said in some degree to have influenced the manners of the age: he repressed vice if he could not subdue it. A large mansion has recently been erected at *Gredington*, by his son and successor. Ed.

Lancashire; and by his mother, from the *Lloyds* of *Bryn*, of the house of *Tudor Trevor*.

THE church is a very handsome embattled building, of the reign of *Henry VII.* in whose time numbers of churches were re-built after the long desolation of civil war. The roof is of wood: that of the *Fenns* chapel, and of the north aisle, are divided into small squares, and carved in a most elegant style. In the windows of the former was some painted glass, with dates, expressing the time of its being made, at the cost of the *Hammers*, who had the presentation of the vicarage granted to them by the abby of *Haghamon*, near *Shrewsbury*, in 1424. Here is a neat tablet with a female figure kneeling and leaning on a sarcophagus, erected by *Penn Curzon* esq. and his sisters, in memory of their grandmother widow of *William Hammer* esq. who died Oct. 2, 1777, æt 77. In the church-yard, within some iron rails, repose *Luke* and *Catherine Lloyd* of the *Bryn*, who lived man and wife sixty-eight years.

IN the *Hammer* chapel are two mural monuments in memory of two most distinguished personages; both the inscriptions are in Latin. The first to Sir *Thomas Hammer*, baronet, knight of the shire for the county of *Flint*, who died in 1678, after an amiable and useful life of 66 years. The other commemorates the late Sir *Thomas Hammer*, speaker of the house of commons in the 12th of

Queen *Anne*; and famous for his magnificent edition of *Shakespeare*; he died *May 7th*, 1746.

ABOUT two miles farther is *Bettisfield*^a; an old BETTISFIELD.
brick house belonging to the same family. I observed here a head of the late Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, PORTRAITS.
by *Kneller*, in a long wig and cravat. *Isabella*
dutchess of *Grafton*, and in right of her father
Henry Bennet, countess of *Arlington*. This celebrated beauty was first married to *Henry*, duke of *Grafton*, who was slain in 1690, at the seige of *Cork*. In 1698, she was married to the last Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, and died without issue in *February* 1723. Her picture is among the beauties in *Hampton* court. She is here represented in a loose dress, with a long lock. A very fine head of Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, second baronet, and M.P. for *Flintshire*, who died at an advanced age in 1678; in a black dress, with white ornaments, and white turn-over. Head of his second wife *Susan*, daughter of Sir *William Hervey* of *Ickworth* in *Suffolk*; her head-dress ornamented with flowers. Portrait by *Cornelius Jansen*, dated 1631, of a man in a black dress, slashed and puffed with white; his hair curled and bushy, with a slender love-lock. *Henry* earl of *Derby*, with very short hair, beard and whiskers, in black with an upright ruff, a gold chain and *George* pendant from it;

^a Considerable additions have been made to this house by the present baronet. ED.

Sir *Thomas Hanmer* had attended the earl when he went ambassador to *France* in the 27th of *Elizabeth*. Sir *William Hervey* of *Ickworth*, knight, bald, with short greyish hair, beard, and whiskers; dressed in black, with a turn-over. Very fine full length of Sir *Thomas Hanmer* in his robes, as speaker, by *Kneller*. Small highly-finished head of *Charles I.* in his robes, with hat and feathers. Three quarter lengths of the same prince, and of his queen *Henrietta Maria*. In one room is an elegant figure of lady *Hanmer*, with a forehead-cloth, in an elegant white undress, studying *Gerard's Herbal*; and a small portrait of a lady *Warner a la Magdalene*, with long disheveled hair, and a scull in her hand. She was a daughter of the house, and wife to a Sir *John Warner*; who not content with abjuring the religion of their parents, determined to quit the kingdom, and embrace the monastic life. Their friends applied to the king (*Charles II.*) to divert them from their resolution. His majesty, with his wicked wit, told them, that if Sir *John had a mind to make himself one of God Almighty's fools, they must have patience*. Sir *John* became a Jesuit, and assumed the name of brother *Clare*; she a poor *Clare*, of which order she performed the noviciateship with marvellous obedience! *I am black, but comely*, was the text of a preacher, one day exhorting her (in what is called a cloathing sermon) to humility;

LADY WAR-
NER.

expressing that she must make herself black (alluding to the habit) in the eyes of the world, to become fair in the sight of the LORD. The abbess on this said to the poor novice, *You also, SISTER CLARE, must black yourself.* On which she went instantly into the kitchen, where she blacked her face and hands with the soot of the chimney; and thus became an instructive example to the admiring sisters^b!

BETTISFIELD has for centuries belonged to the *Hammers*. Before the battle of *Shrewsbury*, a partition was made of their property. *Jenkin Hammer*, the brother-in-law to the great *Glyndwr*, divided his estates among his four sons. He gave *Hanmer*, and his lands at *Lwyn Derw*, or *Oakenholt*, obtained with his first wife *Margaret*, daughter of *Dafydd ap Bleddyn Vychan*, to their son *Gryffydd*. By his second marriage, with *Eca*, daughter to *Dafydd ap Grono ap Jerwerth* of *Llai*, he had *John*, *Edward*, and *Richard*. To *John* he gave *Haughton* or *Halghton* (a house in this neighborhood) and *Llai*; to *Edward*, lands in *Fenns*, a place likewise not remote; and to *Richard*, lands in *Bettisfield*. *Jenkin* soon after fell, valiantly fighting, in the field near *Shrewsbury*, against the usurper *Bolingbroke*. *John* departed from the principles of his father, and embraced the

^b Vide *Life of Lady Warner*, p. 108, London, 1696. She was daughter to the first Sir *Thomas Hammer*.

side of the house of *Lancaster*, in the reign of *Henry VI.* *John Mowbray* duke of *Norfolk*, and *Grey* lord *Powis*, carried fire and sword through his estates in 1463, and burnt his house at *Haughton*; which induced him, the year following, to make his submission to the victorious *Edward*^c.

ALL these estates are now united, and in possession of Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, baronet.

WRITERS differ about the origin of this great family. *Collins* i. 412, derives it from a Sir *John Mackfel*, who had a son, *John*, constable of *Caernarvon* castle in the reign of *Edward I.* The *Salesbury* Pedigree, p. 113, makes *John Upton*^a, clerk, parson of the church of *Hanmer*, to be the first of the family, who married *Hawys*, *ferch Anian ap Gwillem ap Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn*, and had by her three sons, *Owen*, *David*, and *Philip*. *Philip* succeeded to the fortunes of his brothers; married *Annes*, daughter and heir of *Dafydd ap Iyrid ap Ymyr ap Yowas*, of *Penley* in this hundred, and by her had Sir *Dafydd Hanmer*, one of the judges of the *King's Bench* in the time of *Richard II.* and father-in-law to *Glendwr*.

ON leaving *Broughton*, I took the road towards *Bangor*. On the right lies *Emral Hall*, the seat

^c *Salesbury* Pedigree.

^a From the family pedigree, and various records, it appears that *John de Hanmere*, erroneously called *Upton*, was not a priest; he lived in the reign of *Edward I.* ED.

of the *Pulestons*; a family settled here in the time of *Edward I.* but which took its name from *Pulesdon*, a township in *Shropshire*. The first who possessed the place was *Roger*, a favorite officer of the king; who, after the conquest of *Wales*, appointed him collector of the taxes raised towards the support of the war against *France*; but the *Welsh*, unused to these levies, seized on *de Pulesdon* and hanged him^c. His son *Richard* was appointed, by the same prince, sheriff of *Caernarvon*, with a salary of forty pounds, and all arrears^f. His son, another *Richard*, held, in the 7th of *Edward II.* lands in the parish of *Worthenbury*, by certain services, & *per ammabrogium*, or a pecuniary acknowledgement paid by tenants to the king, or vassals to their lord, for the liberty of marrying, or not marrying. Thus *Gilbert de Maisnil* gave ten marks of silver to *Henry III.* for leave to take a wife; and *Cecily*, widow of *Hugh Pever*, that she might marry whom she pleased^g. It is strange that this servile custom should be retained so long. It is pretended that the *Amoby* among the *Welsh*, the *Lyre-wyfe* among the *Saxons*, and the *Marcheta mulierum* among the *Scots*, were fines paid by the vassal to the superior, to buy off his right to the first night's lodging with the bride of the person who held from

^c *Powel*, 380.

^f *AYLOFF'S Rot. Wallie*, 101.

^g *Madox. Antiq. Ecclieq.* i. 465. 6.

him: but I believe there never was any *European* nation (in the periods in which this custom was pretended to exist) so barbarous as to admit it. It is true, that the power above cited was introduced into *England* by the *Normans*, out of their own country. The *Amobyrr*, or rather *Gobrmarch*, was a *British* custom of great antiquity, paid either for violating the chastity of a virgin, or for a marriage of a vassal^h; and signifies the *price of a virgin*. The *Welsh* laws, so far from encouraging adultery, checked by severe fines, even unbecoming libertiesⁱ. The *Amobyrr* was intended as a preservative against lewdness. If a virgin was deflowered, the seducer, or, in his stead, her father paid the fine. If she married, he also paid the fine. There is one species so singular as to merit mention. If a wife proved unfaithful to her husband's bed, the poor cuckold was obliged to pay his superior five shilling as long as he did *cydgysgu*, i. e. sleep with her; but if he forbore cohabiting with her, and she *cydgysgu'd* with her gallant, the fine fell on the offending fair.

THE *Saxons* had their *Lyre-wyte* or *Lecher-wyte*, for the same end that the *Welsh* had their *Amobyrr*. The crime^j is mentioned often in the *Saxon* laws^k; once, with a cruel penalty denounced against the offender; and a second time, with

^h *Leges Wallicæ*, 92. & *Glossar*, 554.

ⁱ *Leges Wallicæ*, 78.

^k *Leges Saxon*, 40. 132.

a strong dehortation from the commission. In general, the crime was expiated by money, according to the degree of the person injured. The *Hindoos* at this time commute, in certain degrees of offence; but oftener punish it with burning, and other excruciating deaths¹.

CONTINUE my journey to *Bangor*, seated on BANGOR. the banks of the *Dee*; which is here bounded on both sides by rich meadows. The church has been built at different times; but no part is very antient. It is a rectory, dedicated to St. *Dinoth* abbot of *Bancornaburg* or *Bangor* in the days of St. *Augustine*, and is in the gift of *Philip Lloyd Fletcher*, esq. This place is celebrated for being the site of the most antient *British* monastery, or rather seminary, which contained two thousand four hundred monks; who dividing themselves into seven bands, passed their time alternately in prayer and labor^m, or, as another writer saysⁿ, a hundred (by turns) passed one hour in devotion; so that the whole twenty four hours were employed in sacred duties. This pious community was dispersed, after the slaughter of their brethren at the battle of *Chester*, and their house overthrown. *William* the monk, and librarian of *Malmsbury*, cotemporary with king *Stephen*, speaks of the remains in his days; saying that no place could shew

¹ *Gentoo Laws*, 268, &c.

^m *BEDÉ Hist. Eccles.* ii. c. 2. p. 80. ⁿ *Cumdes*, i. 663.

greater remains of half-demolished churches, and multitudes of other ruins that were to be seen in his time°. Mention is made of two gates of the precincts, that were a mile distant, with the *Dee* running between them; one was called *Porth Clais*, the other *Porth Wgan*. The name of the first is retained in that of a place called *Clai*; of the other in a house called *Hogan*. The precincts must have been large, as the monks maintained themselves by the labor of their own hands. The simple and unlearned provided meat and cloathing for the learned, and distributed to the poor all superfluities. It sent forth many thousands of religious; and its fame would have been immaculate, had it not produced the celebrated *Pelagius* about the year 400, the same who is usually stigmatized by the name of the arch-heretic. Two of his tenets, perhaps, in these days, may give him many proselytes: 'That good works were meritorious; and that unbaptised infants ran no hazard of damnation.'

THE monks of this community, in common with all the *British* clergy, were strenuous opposers of the usurpation of the church of *Rome*. Seven bishops, and a great number of learned men, were deputed from *Bangor* to meet the famous missionary *Augustine* the monk; when he insisted on their concurrence with his demands, with such in-

° *Script. post* BEDAM, 294.

II.



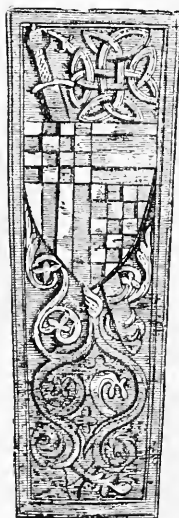
III.



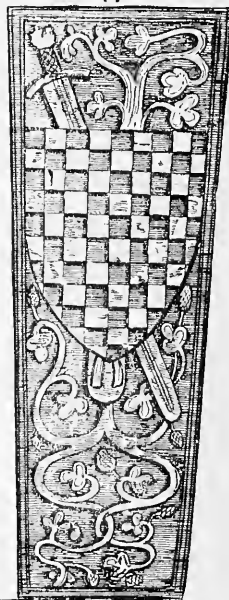
I.



IV.



V.



COFFIN LIDS
FOUND AT BANGOR.

solence, that they left him, determined to maintain the original rites of their own church: which remained pure, and independent of all foreign prelates, for many centuries after that period. *Augustine* threatened the *Britons* with the resentment of the *Saxons*. How far he instigated *Edilfred* in his invasion does not appear; but, if *BEDE* may be depended on, the massacre of the monks almost immediately followed his menaces^p.

I COULD discover no remains of this once noted place; but was informed, that squared stones have been often ploughed up in a field called the *Stanyards*; probably the site of some of the antient buildings.

BANGOR had been also the site of the supposed *Bonium* or *Bovium*, a *Roman* station. *Leland* says, that in his time *Roman* money was found there. I could find neither coins or inscriptions, nor any thing of higher antiquity than four stone coffin-lids, engraven in the annexed plate, and an antient cross; all dug up in the church-yard. N^o 1. has on it the arms of the earls *Warren*; 2. the same quartered with arms unknown to me: 3. is inscribed, *Hic jacet ITHEL CADWGAN*: the 4th, inscribed, *Hic jacet WILLIAM LE FRENS*; probably a person of *Norman* extraction. I find the name in *Sir Peter Leicester's*

^p *BEDE Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 2. p. 80.*

Cheshire^a: one *Hugh de Frenes*, who married *Alice* daughter of *Lacy* earl of *Lincoln*, and widow of *Thomas* earl of *Lancaster*, beheaded 1321. The cross is far the most antient. The ingenious herald, Mr. *Wilkinson*, imagines, that the gryphon and the lion (which are both antient *British* arms) looking towards the cross, may signify the early embracing of Christianity by the nations of our island.

CORACLES. THE antient *British* boats, the *vitilia navigia* of *Pliny*; the modern coracles; are much in use in these parts for the purpose of salmon fishing. They have now lost the cause of their name, being no longer covered with *coria* or hides, but with strong pitched canvas. They hold only a single person, who uses a paddle with great dexterity. The *Britons* had them of large size, and even made short voyages in them, according to the accounts we receive from *Lucan*.

THE bridge is a beautiful light structure, and consists of five arches. A learned schoolmaster, in the following inscription, has commemorated the time of its reparation.

MVND. 5607.	DENB. CC. CONCIT.
REPARAT. AN. CHRIST. 1658. SVMP. E COMIT.	LIB. M.A.
HEGYR. 1036.	FLINT. C.

ON crossing the *Dec*, entered into *Denbighshire* again: and, turning short to the left, after two

miles riding, visited *Eyton*, the seat of *Kenrick Eyton* esq. This house was head of a numerous race of gentry, that took their name from the place, so called from its situation. The *Dee* rolls beneath, and forms a long and solemn reach, overshadowed by hanging woods. At *Overton* bridge, which lies about a mile beyond *Eyton*, the channel is contracted, and the stream flows picturesquely between the lofty banks, admirably described by the inimitable pencil of MR. SANDBY. This bridge consists of two neat arches, and was first built of stone by the munificence of *Gwenhwyvar*, daughter of *Jerwith Ddu* of *Pengwern*, near *Llangollen*; a maiden lady who resided at *Eyton* with her sister *Margaret*, who was married to *Madoc ap Evan Eyton*^r.

OVERTON, or *Overton Madoc*, the *Ovretton* of the Doomsday book, is a pleasant village, seated on a high bank, about a mile beyond the bridge, above a rich meadowy flat of a semicircular form, varied by the *Dee*, and bounded in front with fertile and wooded slopes; while the lofty and naked mountains soar beyond, and close the scene.

THIS place was called, at the time of the Conquest, *Ovretone*; had then a Saxon owner; but was granted to *Robert Fitzhugh*. I find in 1278, or the 7th of *Edward* I. that it was in the possession of *Robert de Creveccour*, who obtained for it

^r *Eyton Pedigree*.

a weekly market on a *Wednesday*^s. In the 21st of the same reign, the king directed *Reginald de Grey*, justice of Chester, to go personally to *Overton*, and there to assign to the burgesses, or such as would become inhabitants, competent land, within the demesnes of *Overton* castle and wood, to build them burgages with^t. Such encouragement did this wise prince give to population, to secure the frontiers of this new conquest. In 1331, or the 5th of *Edward III.* it was granted, with other lands in this *Maelor*, to *Eubule le Strange*, baron of *Knockyn*^u.

THERE are no reliques of the castle, which stood in a field still called *Castlefield*, fronting the *Dee*. Tradition says, that it had been the residence of *Madoc ap Meredydd* prince of *Powys* and lord of *Overton*; from which the place received the addition of *Madoc*.

THE church is a handsome building; and the church-yard reckoned among the wonders of *Wales*, on account of its handsome yew trees. The place is only a curacy, in the parish of *Bangor*, in the diocese of *Chester*.

OVERTON is one of the contributory boroughs which send a member for that of *Flint*; which is done by the inhabitants of *Overton-foreign* and

^s *Dugdale Baron.* i. 592.

^t *Harleian MSS.* N^o 2074. 45.

^u *Dugdale Baron.* i. 668.

Knolton, paying scot and lot. This right had been settled in the years 1728 and 1737; but a doubt arising whether payment of taxes by the landlord was sufficient, in 1741, it was determined by parlement in the negative. *Hammer*, and several other places, laid in a claim to vote, but it was rejected by the commons in the beginning of this century^x.

AN extent was made in the twenty-eighth of *Edward I.* at *Overton*, before *Richard de Mascy*, justice of *Chester*, by which it appears, that the king had a mill there worth twelve pounds a year, and a fishery worth twenty; which shows the greatness of the value of the latter in those days. The only fish worth attending to, must have been salmon. It was an important article, not only in private families, but, in those days, for the support of armies. In *Rymer* is an order for three thousand dried salmon, issued by *Edward II.* in 1308, in order to enable him to set his troops in motion, to wage war against *Scotland*.

A CERTAIN spot near *Soddylt*, near this village, divides *England* and *Wales*—the provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*—the dioceses of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, *Chester*, and *St. Asaph*—the counties of *Salop*, *Flint*, and *Denbigh*—the hundreds of *Oswestry*, *Maylor*, and *Bromfield*,—the parishes

^x The eighteenth. Ed.

of *Ellesmere*, *Overton*, and *Erbistock*—the townships of *Duddleston*, *Knolton*, and *Erbistock*.

GWERN-
HAILED.

GWERNHAILED, the seat of *Philip Lloyd Fletcher* esquire, in this parish, must not pass unnoticed. Few places command so rich a view; and few have been more judiciously improved. It stands on the lofty brow that skirts the country. Beneath runs the *Dee*; bounded on the opposite side by most beautiful meadows, and varied in the distance with numbers of hills; among which those of *Caergwrle* form a most noble and conspicuous mass.

BRYN Y PYS.

In this neighborhood I visited the fine collection of birds at *Bryn y Pys*, the seat of *Richard Parry Price* esq. Among others, was a pair of vultures; which I take the liberty of mentioning in this place, as being an undescribed species. They were the smallest of the genus, not above half as big again as the kite. Their bill whitish, long, and but little hooked; cere bluish; orbits naked and flesh-colored; irides straw-colored; head and neck, contrary to the character of the genus, cloathed with feathers; craw pendulous; head, neck, back, breast, belly, and lesser coverts of the wings, of a pure white; greater coverts, and primaries, black, the last tipt with white; the lower part of the tail black; the end white; legs dirty white, roughened with scales.

NEW VUL-
TURE.

INHABIT *Angola*. Were very restless and querulous; and much more active than is usual with



Angola Vulture

this sluggish race. They are now dead; but one of their *exuvie*, stuffed so as to mimic life, is placed in the matchless *Museum* of SIR ASHTON LEVER, which is by far the most instructive and elegant of any in *Europe*; and from which the mere admirer will receive equal pleasure with the profoundest *connoisseur*.

I MUST not leave this neighborhood without observing that the little owl (*Br. Zool.* i. N° 70.) that rare *English* species, has been shot in some adjacent woods. It is very frequent abroad; where it collects in autumn and the spring in great flocks, in order to migrate in search of field-mice. *Childrey*, pp. 14. and 100. of his *Britannia Baconica*, mentions two instances of armies of strange painted owls, that came in 1580, and in 1648, into *Essex*, and waged war against the multitudes of mice in those times destroying the country: but whether they were owls of this species, I cannot determine. I am assured by Mr. STUART, that this kind visits *Attica* in vast flocks every spring, and breeds there. It is no wonder that the *Athenian* goddess should have this bird as her concomitant, being so very common there. It is very frequently expressed on the *Athenian* coins and sculptures; and I have seen it placed on the hand of a statue of hers, in the noble collection belonging to *William Weddel*, esq. at *Newby* in *Yorkshire*.

WITHIN a small distance from *Overton*, I entered the county of

SHROPSHIRE,

at *Trench-lane*, once infamous for its depth and badness. This county was peopled by the *Cornavii*; and, till the time of *Offa*, was divided between the princes of *Powys* and the *Mercian* kingdom: but *Offa*, after his expulsion of the *Welsh* from their antient seat of *Pengwern*, or *Shrewsbury*, added their part to his dominions. At the Conquest, it was possessed by the brave *Edwin*, the last earl of *Mercia*. On his death, it was bestowed by the Conqueror on *Roger de Montgomery*, a potent *Norman*, the first earl of *Arundel* and *Shrewsbury*.

THE country, for the greatest part of the way
 ELLESMERE. to *Ellesmere*, is flat, dirty, and unpleasing. On the approach to the town, becomes more agreeable; and about it, breaks into most beautiful risings, fertile, and finely wooded; the bottoms are indeed destitute of rivers; but frequently filled with little lakes, called here *meres*, elegantly bordered by the cultivated hills. It is singular that none of them are the parents of streams; their encrease from rains and springs, and their loss by exhalations, keep equal!

ELLESMERE is a town seated on a lake of a

hundred and one acres in dimensions; and whose greatest depth is twenty-six yards; well stocked with fish. The duke of *Bridgewater* owns this fine water.

THE environs have two advantages superior to the other lakes. A good town borders on one side: the fine park of *Ockle*, or *Ottley*, with the venerable wooden house^y, is a great ornament to the other. This is one of the most antient freeholds in the parish. It had long been the property of the *Ottleys*, but by the marriage of *Elizabeth*, daughter and heiress of *Richard Ottley*, with *Humphry Kynaston* of *Stoke*, in the 11th of *Henry V.*^z, was transferred into the present family, which is of *Welsh* descent, derived from *Bleddyn ap Cynfyn* prince of *Powys*. *Madoc*, son of *Philip ap Gryffydd*, was the first who took the name of *Kynaston*.

OTTLEY
PARK.

THE park is covered with trees of great size and antient growth. A vast lime tree, of the small leaved variety, is particularly conspicuous. The ground is finely broken into several risings, and the views of the town, of the mere, and of the two others, *Whitemere* and *Colemere*, render this a first-rate situation.

^y The house, which has externally been most unfortunately modernised, and the property appertaining to it, descended to Mrs. *Vaughan*, who bequeathed it to the late reverend *Charles Mainwaring*. ED.

^z *Shropshire Visitation*, 173.

THE town is of *Saxon* origin, and takes its name from the water; which was called *Aelsmere*, or the *greatest mere*, being the chief in this part of the county. The place has little to boast of except its situation. The principal trade is that of malt; the barley of the neighborhood being remarkably good.

CASTLE.

THE castle stood on a vast artificial mount on a rising ground, with three great ditches on the more accessible side. At present not a vestige is to be seen; the top being formed into a bowling-green, that may vie with any in *England* for the elegance and extent of inland prospect; of the lake beneath; of the rich country and woods surrounding the town. At a distance, *Chester* and the *Broxton* hills; *Wrexham* and the *Caergwrle* mountains; Castle *Dinas Brân*, and the *Berwyn* alps; and some of those of *Meirioneddshire*; *Llanymynach* hill, the *Breyddin*, *Pimhill*, *Clechill*, and the noted *Wrekin*.

I CANNOT trace the founder of the castle, nor yet the time of its destruction. The place was possessed, as I before said, by *Edwin* immediately before the Conquest; and, on that event, by *Roger de Montgomery*.

IN 1177, it was transferred to a prince of *North Wales*. *Henry II.* in that year, assembled a council at *Oxford*, and among other regulations for the security of the kingdom, bestowed on

Dafydd ap Owen his natural sister *Emma*, with the lordship of *Ellesmere* as a portion. This the politic monarch did, in hopes of retaining the affections of *Dafydd*, and to prevent a breach with the *Welsh*; who gave him such great disturbance, and so often baffled his greatest endeavors to subdue them during the reign of *Owen Gwynedd* father to *Dafydd*. This alliance answered his purpose; for the *English* remained unmolested during the life of that prince.

AFTER his decease, *Robert Lupus* held, by his bailiff, this manor.

IT then came a second time into the hands of a prince of *Wales*. King *John*, by grant dated from *Dover*, April 16th 1204, bestowed it, with *Joan*, his natural child by *Algatha* daughter of *Robert Ferrers* earl of *Derby*, on *Llewelyn ap Iorwerth*. It is probable that *John* hoped, by means of his son-in-law, to terrify the lord marchers into obedience: but the unfortunate monarch reaped no benefit from the alliance. *Joan* proved unfaithful to our prince's bed; who hanged *William de Breos*, author of his disgrace, and turned his arms against the *English*. This induced *John* to divest *Llewelyn* of the government of so important a fortress as a frontier castle; for, by a writ dated from *Warwick*, in the tenth year of his reign, he orders the governor, *Bartholemew Turol*, to deliver it instantly to *William* earl of

Salisbury and *Thomas of Endinton*. But still left the revenues of the lands to his daughter. *Llewelyn* in revenge afterwards burnt the town.

IN the fourth of *Henry III.* or the year 1219, *Roger L'Estrange* yielded to the king the manors of *Colemere* and *Hampton*; but received them again, together with the hundred of *Ellesmere* and its castle; but for life only.

IN 1236, or the 21st of the same monarch, it appears that *John L'Estrange* was governor of the castle. Four years after this, *Henry* determined no longer to leave a place of this consequence in the hands of the *Welsh*. Accordingly, we find him obliging *Dafydd ap Llewelyn* to make a formal renunciation of this territory, which he cedes for ever. The treaty was dated from *Alnet* on the *Elwy*, on the feast of the decollation of St. *John the Baptist*, in 1240.

IN 1252, the 37th of *Henry III.* the manor and castle of *Ellesmere* were committed to *John de Grey*, paying an annual fine of ten shillings.

IN the 43d year, or 1258, *Peter de Montford* was governor of the castle. In the 51st, the manor, castle, and hundred, were granted to *Hamon L'Estrange* and his heirs, with a provision out of the escheat of the manor, castle and hundred, of a hundred pounds a year. This nobleman took a large share in the barons wars; was excommunicated for his insolence by the archbishop of

Canterbury; but returning to his allegiance, was employed in places of trust, which he discharged with the utmost fidelity. It is said that he purchased the manors of *Colemere* and *Hampton* from *Peter de Montford*, which he left to his brother *Sir Roger L'Estrange*. *Edward I.* in the fourth year of his reign, on the surrender of the grant of *Hamon* (which was to him and his heirs) confirmed it anew, on condition he would receive the castle and hundred of *Ellesmere* for life, and the remainder to the king in fee. This *Roger*, by the king's warrant, granted several parcels of the manor to different persons: and about the same time, the wastes and commons were inclosed and converted into freeholds.

IN 1320, *Edward II.* on the insurrection of the earl of *Lancaster*, appointed *Oliver de Ingehan* governor of the castle. *Edward III.* in 1329, after causing the encroachments made on this manor to be reduced, bestowed the castle, and the hamlets of *Colemere* and *Hampton*, on *Sir Eubule L'Estrange*, younger son of baron *L'Estrange* of *Knockin*. They continued in his line in 1477, the 17th of *Edward IV.*; when, by the marriage of *Joan*, daughter of the last male heir, with *George Stanley*, eldest son to *Thomas* first earl of *Derby*, they were conveyed to that great house, which was possessed of them till 1549,⁽²⁾ the 42d of

(2) As to 1549 being the 42nd of Elizabeth, these figures must be wrong: 1594 would be right. T.R.

Elizabeth; when *William* earl of *Derby* had licence from the queen to alienate them; which he did, to *Richard Spencer* and *Edward Savage*; and they, to *Sir Thomas Egerton*, keeper of the great seal, and afterwards chancellor of *England* and baron of *Ellesmere*. It is now in the possession of his descendant, the duke of *Bridgewater*, who has vast property about the town; but no seat, except a very mean one, called *Birch*.

THE church antiently belonged to the knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*. It was granted to them by *Llewelyn*; and *Edward III.* confirmed to their prior the donation. The vicarage is in the gift of the duke of *Bridgewater*. The chapels of *Cockshute*, *Dudleston*, and *Penley*, are dependent on it.

IN the church is an alabaster figure of *Sir Francis Kynaston* of *Ottley*; and another of his lady, much mutilated. He died in 1590. Another *Sir Francis*, esquire of the body to *Charles I.* was particularly distinguished for his *Latin* translation of the Loves of *Troilus* and *Cressida*, from the *English* of *Chaucer*.

A REMARKABLE circumstance, which put a stop to much cruelty exercised by ordinance of parlement against the native *Irish*, who served in *England* in the royal army during the civil wars, happened at this place. Prince *Rupert*, in one of his marches across this country, halted at *Ellesmere*, and determined, by retaliation to re-

venge the deaths of the *Irish* sufferers; thirteen of that kingdom had lately been executed by the parliament army in cool blood. Here the prince ordered the prisoners, whom he had in his possession, to cast lots for their lives on the drum-head; and the thirteen on whom the fatal destiny fell, to be hanged. The die was cast, and the unfortunate men selected. While preparation was making for their execution, one of them (*Philip Littleton*) who had been park-keeper to *Robert Corbet* esq. of *Stanwardine*, saw *Sir Vincent Corbet* of *Moreton Corbet* ride by, who was in the prince's army. *Littleton* told a soldier that he was sure if *Sir Vincent* knew he was there, he would intercede for him. The soldier, with great humanity, ran to the knight, and informed him of the case; who immediately obtained his pardon. The rest were executed; and after this, no more *Irish* were put to death in this kingdom.

FROM *Ellesmere* I continued my journey towards *Oswestry*. From an eminence called the *Perthy*, have a most extensive view of the flat part of the county, bounded by the hills of *Denbighshire*, *Montgomeryshire*, and *Shropshire*. Amidst them appear the vast gaps, through which the *Severn* and the *Dee* rush upon the plains out of their mountainous confinement. This tract is intermixed with woods, fertile land, and moors of great extent. After a ride of two or three miles along the flat, reach

H A L S T O N ,

HALSTON. the seat of the *Myttons*, my maternal ancestry; a good house, built about the year 1690, with the advantage of wood and water, which were managed with excellent taste by my worthy cousin *John Mytton* esq. The house is situated on an elevated plot of ground, which rises out of an extensive flat, great part of which was subject to frequent floods; an inconvenience which has since been removed by the present^a owner, at the expence of much trouble and money, in draining considerable tracts of low ground; whereby the neighborhood is rendered more healthy and pleasant. This flat, being well dotted with trees, agreeably foreshortens the prospect, till it is bounded by the magnificent scenery of the surrounding hills, which distinctly form, in various shapes, many pleasing points of view. A very extensive wood flanks each side of the house, which is bounded by a fine piece of water, made by extending the banks of the river *Perry*, and by conveying a branch of it through the lower parts of the wood, inclosing several islands the shores of which are shaded by very large full-grown oaks; the whole forming one of the most pleasing artificial

^a So rapid has been the succession, that *Halston* is now in possession of the grandson of the person here mentioned. ED.

pieces of water that is to be met with. The rest of the grounds are watered with the river *Perry*; a stream which used to abound with excellent pike, perch, trout, dace, gudgeons, cray-fish, and eels, till modern luxury gave an additional spur to the dexterity of poachers; a grievance complained of, though encouraged, in this as well as in most rivers in the kingdom. The *Perry* rises in the hills, in the parish of *Sellatyn*, passes through several moors to the village of *Ryton*, and afterwards falls into the *Severn* a little below *Montford*-bridge.

AT this place was born the famous general *Thomas Mytton*, a most able, active, and successful commander, on the part of the parlement during the civil wars. The scene of his actions was chiefly in *North Wales*. By his military prowess most of the castles in *North Wales* were subdued, and he greatly distinguished himself in several battles: but, finding that *Cromwell* and his party had farther designs than the mere defence of liberty (the cause in which he engaged), resigned his command, and retired. He was born in 1608; married, in 1629, a daughter of Sir ——— *Napier* of *Luton*, baronet; died in *London* in 1656, and was interred in the church of *St. Chad*, in *Shrewsbury*, on the 29th of *November*.

GENERAL
MYTTON.

AT *Halston* is a well-chosen library, and a good collection of pictures: amongst which are some

very capital; particularly, *Jacob*, and his son *Reuben* shewing *Joseph's* bloody shirt, by *Guercino*; a head, by *Raphael*; *St. Peter* by *Guido*; king *David* by *Dominichino*^b. Mr. *William Mytton's*(¹) curious manuscripts of the *Shropshire* antiquities are preserved here; a work which he had been many years engaged in with indefatigable attention, but unfortunately for the public, died before he could complete his design. To his labours I owe frequent obligations in this part of my work.

ANTIEN
T OWNERS.

IN *Saxon* times, the lordship of *Halston* belonged to *Edric*. At that time there were on it two *Welshmen* and one *Frenchman*. After the Conquest, it became the property of *Guarine*, sheriff of *Shropshire*, ancestor to the *Fitzalans* earls of *Arundel*, by marriage with a *Mellet Pe-verel*, who received this as part of her fortune. Afterwards it became a commandery belonging to the knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*, bestowed on them by some of the *Fitzalans*. In the 26th of

^b Here is preserved a carving, much resembling that mentioned by Mr. WALPOLE, in his *Anecdotes of Painting*, ii. 42. It is the portrait of *Charles I.* full-faced, cut on a peach stone: above is a crown. His face and cloaths, which are the *Vandyck* dress, are painted. On the reverse is an eagle transfixt with an arrow; and round is this motto, *I feathered this arrow*. The whole is most admirably executed; and is set in gold with a crystal on each side. It probably was the work of *Nicolas Briot*, a great graver of the mint in the time of *Charles I.*

(¹) An account is given in the third volume of this uncle of *Pennant*. T.P.

Henry VIII. it was valued at 160*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* a year^c.

At the dissolution, *Henry VIII.* empowered, by his letters patent, *John Sewster* esq. to dispose of this manor to *Alan Horde*, who did homage for it; and afterwards exchanged it for other lands, with *Edward Mytton* of *Habberley*, the antient patrimony of the family in this county; which alienation was confirmed by queen *Elizabeth*.

THE chapel is a donative, without any other revenue than what the owner is pleased to allow his chaplain; and is of exempt jurisdiction.

THE name imports something of sanctity, signifying the *Holy Stone*. Probably a cross or stone, the object of superstition, might once have stood here; but that and its legend are quite lost. That it had been a sanctuary is evident. In the reign of *Richard I. Meyric Llwyd*, descended from *Hêdd Molwynog*, one of the fifteen tribes of *North Wales*, indignant at certain injuries done his country, by the introduction of new laws and new customs, seized several of the king's officers appointed to see them executed, slew some, and hung others. He fled from the rage of his enemies, and took refuge at this place^d.

At a mile's distance from *Halston*, I reached

^c *Tanner*, 457. ^d *Davies's Display of Heraldry*, 45.

WHITTING-
TON. *Whittington*; a village of^e ninety-four families, seated in a parish of the same name. The number of families in the whole amounts to two hundred and seventy-five. The population has of late increased pretty much. The addition to the numbers in the parish have chiefly been confined to the village, owing to the several houses built for the conveniency of labourers, by the family of the *Myttons*; which evinces the duty and utility of rural residence in our gentry, by promoting population, and cherishing the industrious poor.

MR. LLOYD, in his *Achæologia*^f, imagines this place might have been celebrated under the name of *Dréu Wen*, or the *White Town*, by *Llowarch Hên*, a noble bard of the race of the *Cumbrian Britons*, who flourished in the year 590. Here, says he, was slain *Condolanus*, a chieftain of his country, in an attempt to expel a set of *Irish* invaders:

Y *Dréu Wen* ym mron y coed:
Yseu yw y hevras ciryoed:
Ar wyneb y gwelht y gwaed.
Y *Dréu Wen* yn yd hymyr
Y hevras y glâs vyvyr
Y gwaed y dan draed y gwŷr.

Some part of this is too obsolete to be translated. It expresses in general the rage of a battle; and

^e The baptisms in *Whittington* from 1788 to 1807, both years inclusive, were 823; the burials for the same period, 491; the marriages, 170. In the *census* of 1801 the population of the parish is stated to be 1398; the number of families 299. ED.

^f P. 260.

that the grass under the feet of the warriors was stained with blood.

OUR bards also make this place the property and chief seat of *Tudor Trevor*, a *British* nobleman who lived in the year 924, and in right of his mother *Rhiengar* (grand-daughter and heiress of *Caradoc-Freichfras*, slain by the *Saxons* in the battle of *Rhuddlan*⁶, in 795) earl of *Hereford*; and in right of his father *Ymyr ap Cadfarch*, lord of both *Maelors*, *Chirk*, *Whittington*, and *Oswestry*, *Ewias*, and *Urchenfield*. *Tudor*, *Edwin* lord of *Tegengl*, and *Ednowain Bender*, proved most fertile stocks; the offspring of which are to be met with in most parts of *Denbighshire* and *Flintshire*.

AFTER the Conquest, it was held by *Roger* earl of *Shrewsbury*. It is called in the *Doomsday* book *Wititone*. It had at that time eight *berewicks* or corn-farms; twelve *bovaria* or ox-stalls; and a league of wood. The mill yielded five shillings, and the *Welsh* residents there paid twenty shillings.

ON the forfeiture of the cruel *Robert* earl of *Shrewsbury*, it was bestowed on *William*, a sister's son of *Pain Peverel*, lord of *Whittington*; and by the marriage of his second daughter *Mellet*, with *Guarine de Mets*, a noble *Lorrainer*, it be-

⁶ *Powel*, 20. *Collins's Barons*, iii. 129.

came his property about the year 1083. The deeds of arms, and feats of chivalry, made their progeny the admiration of the times, and the subject of high-flown romance. *Guarine*, then lord of *Abberbury*, and sheriff of the county, hears of the resolution of *Mellet* to marry no one but the knight of most distinguished prowess. The emulous youths were to assemble at *Peverel's* place, or the castle in the *Peak*, there to approve their worth. Our knight appears among the rest, with his *sylver shelde*, and a *proude peacock upon his heudme creste*; overthrows his rivals; carries off the fair prize; and receives the lordship of *Whittington* as her dower. His posterity assumed the name of *Fitz-warine*; continued lords of this place for near four hundred years; and every heir, for nine descents, preserved the Christian name of *Fulk*.

THIS warlike race, and their warlike neighbors the *Welsh*, had perpetual feuds: their spirits were too congenial to enjoy peace. *Guarine* and the prince of *Wales* instantly attacked each other. The son of *Conan* had the advantage^h, and carried destruction through all the borders. *Guarine* died in the reign of *Henry I.* and left behind him a son, the first *Fulk Fitz-warine*, one of the great glories of his race, who shone pre-eminent in the heroic line.

^h *Dugdale Baron.* i. 443.

LOVE was the first inducement, in the days of chivalry, to great actions in youthful breasts. *Fulk* becomes enamored with *Hawise*, the daughter of his guardian *Joos*. At her request, he relieves the father from most imminent danger; and receives her hand in reward.

To him was entrusted by *Henry I.* the care of the *marches*, about the year 1122; from which he was styled *Fulco vicecomes*, or the *lieutenant*. It was not long before he found employ for his sword. The brave *Gryffydd ap Conan* carried his arms into the borders; had a personal engagement with our hero; received a wound in his shoulder, and was obliged to seek safety in flight; but the victor did not escape unhurt¹. In future enterprizes he was less fortunate: the *British* prince wrested from him the lordship and castle of *Whittington*; which, by a succeeding treaty with *Henry II.* in the second year of his reign, *Owen Gwynedd* thought proper to retain; and *Fulk* was compensated by a grant of the honor of *Alston* in *Gloucestershire*. He died in an advanced age, and was buried at *Abberbury*.

I MUST not forget, that it is related of this *Fulk*, that when playing at chess with *John Lackland*, son to *Henry II.* he received from him a blow with the board, which he returned with such violence, as almost to demolish the young prince.

¹ *Dugdale Baron*, i. 443.

THE succeeding *Fulk* did not degenerate from his ancestors. He rendered himself so renowned in the wars abroad, that a *French* romance was composed on the actions of himself and progenitors; and translated into *English*, under the title of the *Gestes of GUARINE and his sonnes*^k. It consists, as in the case of most writings of this nature, of a mixture of some truth with much fiction.

To him was restored the castle of *Whittington* and its dependencies, after satisfaction had been made by king *John* to *Wrenoc* and *Wennen*, the sons of *Meyric*, on whom the prince of *Wales* had bestowed it in the reign of *Henry II.* *Wrenoc* received certain lands in the neighborhood, which he was to hold by the service of being the king's *Latimer*⁽¹⁾, or interpreter⁽²⁾, in these parts, between the *Welsh* and the *English*^l. *Fulk*, notwithstanding this, fell afterwards from his allegiance to *John*; and was excommunicated by name^m for his defection from that monarch: but his sufferings were in the cause of liberty; for he was among the glo-

^k Much of it is preserved in the first volume of *Leland's Collectanea*, p. 230.

(1) The word *latimer* has yielded the Welsh language the words *ladmer* and *ladmerydd*, an interpreter. J.R.

(2) See Coke, 2 Inst. p. 515, where one reads as follows:—"But what if the woman cannot speak any language that the judge doth understand, as Cornish, Welsh, Dutch, or the like? then there shall be a *Latimer*, that is, an interpreter upon his oath to interpret truly." T.P.

^l *Blunt's Ancient Tenures*, 17.

^m *Rymer*.

rious band who obtained from *John* the charter so highly prized by every true *Briton*.

It appears that he did not neglect, in the following reign, to obtain a confirmation of these estates, and to secure them to all posterity. He obtained in 1219 from *Henry III.* a grant of *Whittington* to him and his heirs; for which he gave the king two hundred and sixty-two pounds, and two coursers. He also procured the liberty of a market here on a *Wednesday*, and a fair on *St. Luke's* day; for which he presented his majesty with a palfrey. The first is lost. There are still considerable fairs or shews of cattle on the last *Thursdays* in *April*, *July*, and *September*. FAIRS.

FROM another favor bestowed on him by the same monarch, in the year 1220, it appears, that probably the castle of *Whittington* had been dismantled by the *Welsh*; for *Henry* gives permission to this *Fulk* to fortify it. The memory of this is still preserved in a room in the gateway, by the figure of a knight on horseback coarsely painted on the wall, with the following lines, now almost obliterated, placed beneath:

This was Sir *Foulk Fitz-warren*, late a great and valiant knight,
 Who kept the *Britons* still in awe, and oftimes put to flight.
 He of this castle owner was, and held it by command
 Of *Henry*, late surnamed the third, then king of all this land.
 His grandfather, a *Lorrainer*, by fame was much befriended,
 Who *Peverley's* dau'r took to wife, from whom this *Foulk* descended.
 His antient feats of chivalry in annals are recorded.
 Our king of *England* afterwards him baron made, and lorded.

DUGDALE informs us, that this baron was drowned in a river at the battle of *Lewes*, fighting in behalf of the king; but Mr. *Mytton* reasonably supposes, that it must have been his son who appeared in the field on that day: for, from the time that this *Fulk* was appointed lieutenant of the *marches* by *Richard I.* to that of the battle, seventy-five years had elapsed; so it is probable that he was dead, or at least unable to act the warrior. His son, therefore, must have been the person who fell in that fatal action; followed by a body of hardy soldiers, raised in these *marches*, and inured to war by their frequent conflicts with the *Welsh*.

IMMEDIATELY on the defeat, the rebel victor, *Montfort* earl of *Leicester*, appointed *Peter de Montfort*, a creature of his own, governor of this castle; and soon after, making use of the captive monarch's power against himself, obliged himⁿ to resign to *Llewelyn ap Gryffydd* prince of *Wales*, the hundred of *Ellesmere*, several of the border castles, and among others that of *Whittington* and its appertenances. This writ was dated from *Hereford*, *June 22d 1265*. *Henry* also ceded to him the sovereignty of *Wales*, and homage of all the *Welsh* barons, and the lord of *Whittington*. These grants were afterwards confirmed to him by *Henry*, with the homage of the neighboring counties

ⁿ *Rymer*, i. 814.

(which were usually paid to princes ancestors) in consideration of 30,000 marks paid by *Llewelyn*.

IN 1281, *Fulk* attended *Edward* I. in his expedition against the *Welsh*; and was rewarded by the grant of free-warren on his lands in this manor.

IN 1300, he had a feud with his potent neighbor *Richard* earl of *Arundel*; but it was accommodated by the interference of the king.

HE died in the reign of *Edward* II. His son was at that time in *France*, in his majesty's service; whose lady, *Alionora*, had livery of the manor till her husband could return to do homage.

IN 1329, or the 3d of *Edward* III. the new earl was accused by *Edmund* earl of *Kent*, uncle to the king, of raising seditious reports, that *Edward* II. was still alive; and endeavouring to excite a rebellion. For this offence the castle of *Whittington* was seized; but, by the intercession of his peers, restored to him the following year.

IN the insurrection of *Owen Glyndwr*, the vassals favored his cause: but their lord obtained a pardon for them from *Henry* IV.

IN 1420, the 8th of *Henry* V. this illustrious race became extinct in the male line; the last *Fulk* dying in his non-age, leaving *Elizabeth*, his only sister, heiress to his estates. She married *Richard Hawkford*, who dying in 1430, the 9th of *Henry* VI. left an only daughter *Thomasine*.

She married Sir *William Bouchier*, created, on that account, lord *Fitz-warine*. A descendant of his, *John* earl of *Bath*, exchanged this manor with *Henry VIII.* for other lands. *Edward VI.* granted it to *Henry Grey* duke of *Suffolk*: and *Mary*, on his attainder, bestowed it on *Henry* last earl of *Arundel* of the name of *Fitz-alan*. It was by him mortgaged to one *William Albany*, and other citizens of *London*. The last released their title to *Albany*, who foreclosed the estate. His great grand-daughter, and sole heiress, married *Thomas Lloyd* of *Aston*, esq. in this county.

CASTLE.

THE castle stands on a flat: the gateway, and the ruins of two vast round towers, with cruciform slips by way of windows, still remain; and the bare vestiges of two others may yet be traced. It had been surrounded by a moat, and several vast ditches, which comprehended several other works. The moat was filled by a rivulet that rises near *Pentre Pant*, in the parish of *Sellatyn*, which on entering this parish, is lost for near a mile, and emerges in the fields at the back of the castle.

It is probable, that this was a place of defence from the time of its earliest possessors. No place on the borders of unfriendly nations could possibly remain unfortified; but the architect of the castle whose ruins we now contemplate, was certainly the great *Fitz-warine*, grandson of *Guarine*, founder of the family. These were among the greatest

of the barons called *Lord marchers of Wales*; of whose origin an ample account will be given in the appendix.

THE steward of the manor holds annually a STEWARD.
court-leet and court-baron in a room^o in the castle; to which the inhabitants are summoned, and fined one penny each for non-attendance. Chieffrents are payed to the lord; and a heriot of the best beast is claimed at the death of most of the freeholders within the lordship.

THE church^p, dedicated to *St. John the Baptist*, CHURCH.
is a rectory, valued in the king's books at 25*l.* 4*s.* It is a small building, supposed to have been originally designed as a chapel to the castle, and made out of the refuse materials of that fortress by its founder. According to the tradition of the place, he was buried in the porch, it being an act of devotion, in those days, for all persons, on their entrance into churches or religious houses, to pray for the souls of the founders and benefactors.

^o A modern addition, which Mr. *Lloyd*, of *Aston*, the present lord of the manor, is now rebuilding in a stile more congenial with the rest of the antient edifice. ED.

^p The church was rebuilt in 1806 under the direction of its worthy minister the reverend *Whitchall Davies*. Towards the expence, amounting to about 1500*l.* two briefs produced 42*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* By a reference to *Burn's ecclesiastical law*, art. BRIEF, it appears that the charge upon each brief is 330*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* consequently that a sum of no less amount than *seven hundred and three pounds, fifteen shillings, one penny*, must have been raised in order to benefit the parish of *Whittington, Forty-two Pounds, two Shillings, one Penny*. ED.

Fulk Fitz-warine, seventh of the name, who had the greatest revenue of any of the family, by will, dated the 15th of *Richard II.* directed that his body should be buried in the chancel. The largest part of his estates were in other counties; but he gave this place the preference as the antient seat of the family.

IN the year 1630, a commission was issued from the council in the *marches of Wales*, to *John Trevor* and *Richard Lloyd*, gentlemen, to make a terrier of the glebe-land, and to return an inventory of the furniture belonging to it; among which were found three pair of armour, furnished with two pikes and two head-pieces. These seem to have been designed for the use of the rector, for the defence of the castle, in case of any sudden inroad of the *Welsh*.

AFTER leaving the village, in the road towards *Oswestry*. I observed on the left *Tre-newydd*, a seat of *Watkin Williams* esq. in the right of his mother, heiress of the place. Her grandfather, *Edward Lloyd* esq. who died in 1715, was eminent for his learning, and had prepared materials for the history of this his native county. Continue my journey to

OSWESTRY,

OSWESTRY. a considerable town, about two miles distant from *Whittington*; a place celebrated in *Saxon* history

and legendary piety. On this spot, on *August* 5th 642^a, was fought the battle between the Christian *Oswald*, king of the *Northumbrians*, and the Pagan *Penda*, king of the *Mercians*. *Oswald* was defeated, and lost his life. The barbarian victor cut the body of the slain prince in pieces, and stuck them on stakes dispersed over the field, as so many trophies; or, according to the antient verses that relate the legend, his head and hands only were thus exposed:

Cujus et abscissum caput abscissosque lacertos,
Et tribus affixos palis pendere cruentos
Penda jubet: per quod reliquis exempla relinquat
Terroris manifesta sui, Regemque beatum
Esse probet miserum: sed causam fallit utramque,
Ultor enim fratris minime timet *Oswius* illum
Immo timere facit. Nec rex miser, immo beatus
Est, qui fonte boni fruitur semel, et sine fine.

‘ Three crosses, rais’d at *Penda*’s dire commands,
‘ Bore *Oswald*’s royal head and mangled hands:
‘ To stand a sad example to the rest,
‘ And prove him wretched who is ever blest.
‘ Vain policy! for what the victor got,
‘ Prov’d to the vanquish’d king the happier lot:
‘ For now the martyr’d saint in glory views
‘ How *Oswy* with success the war renews:
‘ And *Penda* scarcely can support his throne,
‘ Whilst *Oswald* wears a never-failing crown.’

It is probable that the *Britons* bestowed on the spot where the battle was fought, the name of *Maes hŷr*, or the *long field*, or combat, from the obsti-

^a *Sax. Chron.* 31.

nacy of the conflict. The *Saxons*, for a considerable time, retained the name of the place where the action was fought, with the addition of their own vernacular word *feld*, or *felth*, a field; as *maserfeld*, *maserfelth*, and corruptly, *masafeld*.

Campus *Mesafeld* sanctorum conduit ossar.

The bones of saints at *Mesafeld* were bleach'd.

IN after-days, the name became entirely *Saxon*; and from the fate of the king was styled *Oswald's tree*; now *Oswestry*; and by the *Welsh* rendered *Croes-oswallt*. Before this event, and for a long time after, this tract was the property of the *Britons*; till it was conquered by *Offa*, and brought within the verge of his famous ditch.

A PRINCE so dear to the church as *Ōswald*, and so attached to the professors of the monastic life, received every posthumous honor that they could bestow. He was raised to the rank of a saint; and his sanctity confirmed by numberless miracles. His reliques (which were removed the year following by *Oswy*) were efficacious in all disorders incident to man or beast. The very spot on which his pious corpse had lain, imparted

MIRACLE.

its virtue by mere contact: the horse of a traveller, wearied by excess of labor, stopt here, lay down, and, rolling about in agony, luckily tumbled on the place where *Oswald* fell. No sooner had he

^r *Henry of Huntingdon*, lib. iii. p. 331.

touched the ground, than he sprung up in full vigor. His master, a man of great sagacity! marked the spot; mounted his nag, and soon reached his inn. There he found a young woman ill of the palsy. He told the adventure of his horse; persuaded her friends to try the same remedy; caused her to be transported there; and she instantly found the same benefit^s.

A CHURCH arose on the place of martyrdom, de- CHURCH.
 dicated to the saint. A monastery was founded, which bore the name of *Blanc-minster*, *Candida ecclesia*, *Album monasterium*, and *Whiteminster*. It is very singular, that no evidences exist, either of the time of the foundation or of the dissolution. The last must have happened in *Saxon* days; for, immediately after the Conquest, the church of St. *Oswald* was bestowed on the abby of *Shrewsbury*. Bishop *Tanner* doubts whether there ever was a monastery here^t: but the authority of *Leland* puts this much out of the question—that there once stood here some sort of religious foundation; for he expressly says, that the cloister, with tombs of the monks, remained in the memory of man^u. I am inclined to think it to have been collegiate; a species of establishment very frequent in places of martyrdom or of assassination, reverential or ex-

^s *Bedæ Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, are all replete with tales of this kind.

^t *Monasticon*, 445.

^u *Itin.* v. 39.

piatory, according to the nature of the event. Something of this kind existed here toward the latter end of the reign of *Henry II.*; for *Reinerus* bishop of *St. Asaph* (who had a house near the place) alienated all the tythes of hay and corn of this church and its chapels. These served to maintain twelve priests; but *Reiner* bestowed the revenues on the monks of *Shrewsbury*, and by the papal authority expelled the antient seculars*. I must remark, that most of them had lawful wives; for the *Welsh* clergy, for a long time, resisted the imposition of the church of *Rome* in the article of celibacy, as well as in several others.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS attended the archbishop of *Canterbury* to this place, in order to incite people to take arms for the purposed *Crusade*.

OSWALD'S
WELL.

AT present there is not a relique of any old buildings, excepting of the ruins of a chapel over a remarkably fine spring, that still bears the name of the saint; and near the church is a spot moated round: the use of which is now quite unknown.

I MUST add, that near the town is a field called
CAE-NEF. *Cae-nef*, or *Heaven-field*, which some have imagined to have been the place of his martyrdom. His life and death have given two places that title; for the *Saron Heafenfeld* in *Northumberland* has the same meaning; which it received on account

* *Powel's note on Girald. Cambr. Itin.* 877. *Goodwin de Presul. Angl.* 657.

of the victory he obtained there over the *Cumbrian* prince; *Oswald* attributing his success solely to the intervention of Heaven.

THE present church is of no great antiquity; it CHURCH.
is spacious, and has a handsome plain tower. We learn from a monument in memory of Mr. *Hugh Yule*, that the old church was demolished in 1616. I suppose that the present immediately rose on the ruins. It stands quite out of the town, in a suburb without the *New-gate*, and is a vicarage, under the patronage of the earl of *Powis*, who is also lord of this extensive manor. Part of this parish still uses the *Welsh* language; for which reason, divine service is in a certain proportion read by the minister in that tongue.

THE town was fortified with a wall and four WALLS AND
GATES.
gates. That called the *Black-gate* is demolished: the *New-gate*, the *Willow-gate*, and the *Beatrice-gate*, still remain. The last is a handsome building, with a guard-room on both sides; and over it the arms of the *Fitz-alans*, a lion rampant. It probably was built by *Thomas* earl of *Arundel*, in the beginning of the reign of *Henry IV.* who bestowed the name on it in honor of his wife *Beatrice*, natural daughter to the king of *Portugal*.

OVER the *New-gate* is the figure of a horse in full speed, with an oaken bough in his mouth. There is a conjecture, but I will not pretend to say how well warranted, that it alluded to the generous

breed of horses which *Powysland* (of which this was part) was famous for, derived from some fine *Spanish* stallions, introduced by *Robert de Belesme* earl of *Shrewsbury*.

THE walls were begun in the year 1277, or the sixth of *Edward* I. who granted a murage or toll on the inhabitants of the county, which lasted for six years; in which time it may be supposed they were completed. They were about a mile in compass, and had a deep ditch on the outside, capable of being filled with water from the neighboring rivulets.

CASTLE.

THERE are only a few fragments of the castle remaining. It stood on an artificial mount, with a great foss, extending to the *Beatrice*-gate on one side, and on the other to the *Willow*-gate. Our *Welsh* historians attribute the foundation to *Madoc ap Meredydd ap Bleddyn* prince of *Powys*, in 1148^y. *Leland*^z gives some colour to this, by saying, that in his time there was a tower called *Madoc*'s; but the *English* records place it in possession of *Alan*, a noble *Norman*, who received it immediately from *William* the Conqueror, on his accession. This *Alan* was the stock of the *Fitz-alans* earls of *Arundel*; a potent race, that flourished (with fewer checks than are usual with greatness) for near five hundred years.

SIR WILLIAM DUGDALE^a says, that there was

^y *Powel*, 201.

^z *Itin.* v. 39.

^a *Baronage*.

a castle at *Oswaldster* at the time of the Conquest; which I think probable. The artificial mount on which it was placed indicates it to have been earlier than the *Norman* æra. The *Britons* and the *Saxons* gave their fortresses this species of elevation. The *Normans* built on the firm and natural soil or rock; but often made use of these mounts, which they found to have been the site of a *Saxon* castle. I believe this to have been the case with that in question. A *Fitz-alan* repaired or re-built, and added to that which he met with here: a tower also (as is not unfrequent) might receive the name of *Madoc*, complimentary either to the son of *Meredydd*, or some other great man of the same title.

THIS castle was the residence of the *Norman* owners, and had been completely finished. It had its *ballium* or yard, which comprehended that part of the town still called the *Bailey* head: its *Barbican* or outer-gate, where the maimed and blind were commonly relieved; a mount on the outside of the great ditch was the site of this building; and, from the use, bears to this day the name of *Cripple-gate*. Lastly, it had its chapel, placed at a little distance, dedicated to St. *Nicholas*, and was in the gift of the earls of *Arundel*.

I will not tire the reader with a dry list of successors to this place, or the guardians of such who were under age. I will only observe, that after

the execution of *Edmund* earl of *Arundel*, in the reign of *Edward* II. his queen, to shew her predilection to her gentle *Mortimer*, obtained the possession of it for that favorite.

SHARTAR
GWTTA.

THE town was favored with considerable privileges from its lords. Its first charter, from its brevity called by the *Welsh Shartar Gwtta*, or the short charter^b, was granted by *William* earl of *Arundel*, in the reign of *Henry* II. I must observe here, that it imparted to the burgesses the same privileges with those of *Shrewsbury*.

THE same *William*, in a scutage made in king *John*'s time, was not to do ward at any place but *Blanc-minster*, for the knight's fees held by him: nor to furnish more than ten soldiers, horse, or foot, within the county of *Salop*; nor more than five out of it.

FAIR.

HIS son *John* took part with the barons against king *John*; who in revenge marched to *Oswestry* in 1216^c, and reduced the town to ashes. On the death of that prince, he was reconciled to his successor, *Henry* III. and in 1227, obtained for his manor of *Blanc-minster* the grant of a fair, upon the eve, the day, and the day after the feast of *St. Andrew*. He also made the bailiffs clerks of the market, with power to imprison any persons who used fraudulent ways in buying or selling; for

^b *Harleian MSS.* N^o 1881. 6.

^c *Wynn's Hist. Wales*, 242.

which they paid the consideration of twenty marks. These people frequently abused their power: it is therefore no wonder that so many of the grievances which the *Welsh* so much complained of to *Edward I.* should originate from this place^d.

IN 1233, this unfortunate town experienced a second destruction, being again burnt by *Llewelyn ap Iorwerth* prince of *Wales*^e. Provision was now made against future insults; for, in the next reign, that of *Edward I.* the town was surrounded with walls. This happened when that politic monarch meditated the conquest of *Wales*; therefore thought proper to secure this town, one of the keys of the country, with proper defence.

IN 1318, in the reign of his unfortunate son, *Edmund* earl of *Arundel* was commanded to raise two hundred foot-soldiers out of *Colne* and this neighborhood, to repel the *Scots*.

IN 1331, *Edward III.* granted another fair to this town; and in 1346, directed *Edmund Fitzalan* to raise two hundred of his vassals from *Chun* and *Oswestry*, to attend him in the *French* wars.

IN 1397, *Richard* earl of *Arundel* being attainted and executed, the king, *Richard II.* seized all his lands and manors, and granted them to *William le Scrope* earl of *Wiltshire*, one of his favorites. He also granted to the town the first FIRST ROYAL CHARTER. royal charter, incorporating it by the name of the

^d *Powel*, 362.

^e *Idem*, 288.

bailiffs and burgesses of OSWESTRY *infra Palatinatum CESTRIE in marchia inter ANGLIAM et WALLIAM*. This was also founded upon the constitution of that of *Shrewsbury*. They were exempted throughout the kingdom (the liberty of the city of *London* excepted) *de Theolonio, Lastugio, Passagio, Pontagio, Stallagio de Lene, et de Danegeldis, et Saynit, et omnibus aliis consuetudinibus et exactionibus*.

RICHARD II. with the committee of parlement, in this town determined that the great dispute between the duke of *Hereford* and *Mowbray* duke of *Norfolk*, should be decided by single combat at *Corentry*; both dukes having appeared before the king at *Oswestry*, after the dissolution of the parlement held at *Shrewsbury*^f.

THO. EARL
OF ARUNDEL.

ITS new lord, the earl of *Wiltshire*, fell a victim to the popular fury, on the deposition of his royal master; and *Thomas* the son of the attainted earl, was restored in blood. He proved a great benefactor to the corporation: he gave it a release, in 1406, from a hundred pounds that they were indebted to him, in consideration of the distresses the town suffered during the insurrection of *Glyndwr*. He also obtained a pardon from the king for his vassals in *Chirk, Bromfield*, and this manor, for the share they took in that commotion.

^f *Drake's Parliam. Hist.* i. 519.

IN the same year with the release, he granted a most extensive charter to the town, containing many matters that shew the customs of the times; which merits, on that account, a detail of some of the particulars. To begin with a most essential one: ‘ Neither the lord or his heirs should con-
 ‘ fiscate or seize the effects of persons dying with
 ‘ or without will in the corporation: THAT no bur-
 ‘ gess should be compelled to be the lord’s re-
 ‘ ceiver-general; but only collector of the issues
 ‘ arising within the borough: THAT the burgesses
 ‘ should be discharged from all fees demanded by
 ‘ the constable of the castle, or any of his menial
 ‘ servants, for any felonies or trespasses committed
 ‘ out of the same liberties, when brought to the
 ‘ prison of the castle; saving, that the constable
 ‘ might receive one penny at his own election,
 ‘ from every mansion-house in the town; and a
 ‘ farthing of every cottage on the feast of St.
 ‘ *Stephen* annually: THAT the burgesses should
 ‘ be freed for the future from all excise of ale
 ‘ brewed and sold in the town, which had been
 ‘ hitherto payable, at the rate of seven-pence for
 ‘ every *Bracena cervisie* exposed to sale: THAT
 ‘ they were to be freed from the duty of *Amobyrr* or
 ‘ *Lyrewite*^g: THAT whoever lived in the house of
 ‘ a burgess, and happened to die there, the burgess
 ‘ was to have a heriot after his decease; in the

HIS CHAR-
 TER.

^g Vide page 284.

‘ same manner as the *Uchelwyr*, or freeholders residing on the lands of the lord in the hundred of *Oswestry*: THAT no *Shrewsbury* ale should be sold in the town without license, while any ale brewed in the town was to be had, under the penalty of six shillings and eight pence: THAT none of the inhabitants of the lordships of *Oswestry*, *Melverley*, *Kinardsley*, *Egerley*, *Ruyton*, and the eleven towns^h, should drive or carry any cattle, corn, or victuals, or other wares, to any foreign fair or market, before the same had been first exposed to sale in the town of *Oswestry*, under the penalty of six shillings and eight pence: THAT none of the lord’s tenants should be compelled to pay the *redditus advocarii* for the security of the castle, &c. &c.’

GUARD AT
THE GATES.

UNTIL the time of the above mentioned charter, the lord’s *Welsh* tenants of the hundred of *Oswestry* were accustomed by their tenure to keep watch and ward for three days and three nights at the four gates of the town, during the fair of St. *Andrew* and St. *Oswald*, with a certain number of men called *Kaies*: but these treacherously, with others, ravaged and plundered the place. On this the tenants were compelled to pay a sum of money as wages to a sufficient number of *Englishmen*, as the burgesses should think convenient, for

^h *Old Ruyton, Cotton, Shelroke, Skottaton, Wykey, Eardeston, Tedsmere, Rednall, Haughton, Sutton, and Felton*; which form a manor in *Oswestry* hundred.

the custody of the four gates; and the *Welshmen* were for ever to be discharged from that duty.

THE vassals of the earls of *Arundel* in these parts were of a mixed nature; either descendants of the *Norman* followers of their ancestor *Alan*, or of the native *Welsh*, who were most numerous, and bore an hereditary dislike to the co-tenants of foreign stock. The *Welsh* part was called *Walcheria*, and lay in the upper part of the manor.

THIS charter of earl *Thomas* was confirmed by his several successors, to the time of *Henry VIII.* *Charles II.* granted another; in which a mayor, twelve aldermen, fifteen common-council, a high-steward, and recorder, composed the body corporate.

OSWESTRY was garrisoned for the king in the beginning of the civil wars, but was taken in *June* 1644 by the earl of *Denbigh*ⁱ and general *Mytton*. The governor had fortified it very strongly; and least the enemy should annoy it from the steeple, pulled it down to the body of the church, part of which he also demolished. The attack was made against the new gate, which was soon demolished by the cannon; when a bold and daring young man, named *George Cranage*, went with a hatchet and cut down the chains of the drawbridge. The parlement forces then entered, and the royalists retired into the castle. *Cranage* was then per-

ⁱ *Whitelock*, 92.

suaded to hang a *Buttar* (Petard) at the castle gate. After being well animated with sack, he undertook this desperate attempt; crept with the engine from house to house, till he got to that next to the castle; fastened it to the gate, set fire to it, and escaped unhurt. The gate was burst open, and the place taken^k. Notwithstanding the town was captured in this manner, the commanders restrained the soldiers from plundering, and gratified them with five hundred pounds.

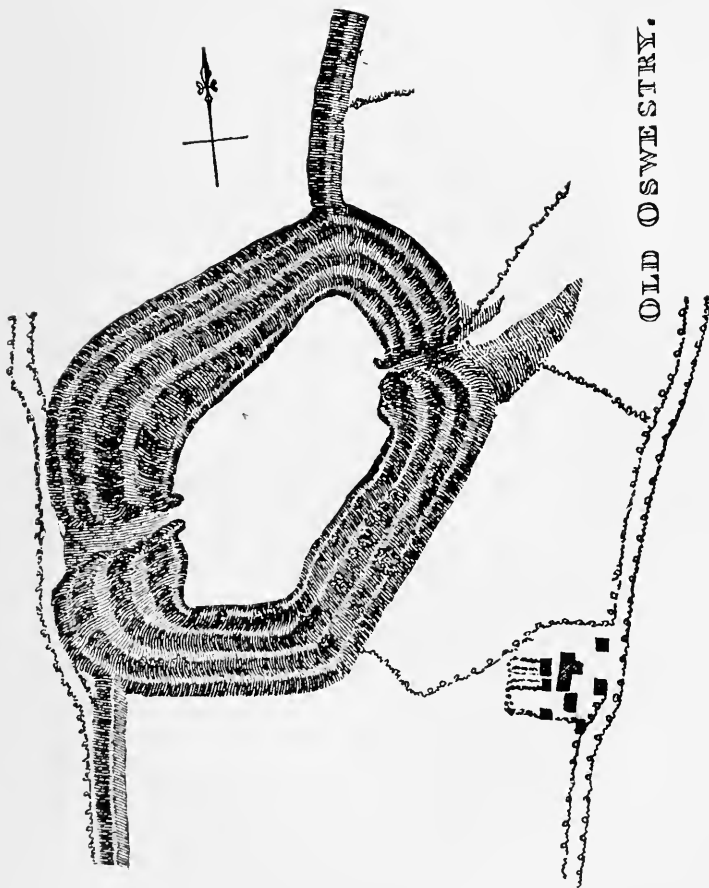
THE following month, colonel *Marrow* attempted to re-take the place; but was attacked by Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and obliged to retire with considerable loss^l. After the death of the king, the castle was demolished.

OLD
OSWESTRY.

ABOUT a mile from *Oswestry*, in the parish of *Sellatyn*, lies a fine military post, on an insulated eminence of an oblong form, which has been fortified with much art. The top is an extensive area, containing fifteen acres, three roods, and eight perches, of fertile ground, surrounded with two ramparts and fosses of great heights and depths. At a distance from these, at the foot of the hill, is another deep foss, which surrounds the whole, and ends (as do the two others) at the two entrances; which are placed diagonally opposite to each other. On the slope of the hill, on both sides of one en-

^k Mr. *Edwards's MSS.*

^l *Whitelock*, 94.



OLD OSWESTRY.

trance are a range of deep oblong trenches, running transversely between the second ditch and another, which seems to be designed for their immediate protection; for the first extends no farther than these trenches; the other, to no great distance beyond them.

THIS place is called *Old Oswestry*, *Hên Ddinas*, and antiently *Caer Ogyrfan*, from *Ogyrfan* a hero co-existent with *Arthur*. There is no certainty of the origin of it: some ascribe it to *Oswald* or to *Penda*, and imagine that it was possessed, before the battle of *Maserfeldt*, by one of those princes. Others think it to have been the work of the antient *Britons*; to which opinion I incline. The strength and the labor in forming it, evince that it was not a sudden operation, like that of a camp. Its construction, even to the oblong trenches, is *British*; for example, that of *Bryn y Clawddiau*, on the *Clwydian* hills, which divide *Flintshire* from the vale of *Clwyd*, is a similar work.

A GREAT dike and foss, called *Wat's*, is continued WAT'S DIKE. from each side of this post. This work is little known, notwithstanding it is equal in depth, though not in extent, to that of *Offa*. We shall here trace the course of each. *Wat's* can only be discovered on the southern part to *Maesbury* mill, in *Oswestry* parish, where it is lost in morassy ground: from thence it takes a northern direction to *Hen-ddinas*, and by *Pentre'r Clawdd* to *Gobowen*, the site of a

small fort, called *Bryn y Castell*, in the parish of *Whittington*: then crosses *Prys Henlle* common, in the parish of *St. Martin*: goes over the *Ceiriog* between *Brynkinallt* and *Pont y Blew* forge, and the DEE below *Nant y Bela*; from whence it passes through *Wynnstay* park, by another *Pentre'r Clawdd*, or township on the ditch, to *Erddig*, the seat of *Philip Yorke* esq. where there was another strong fort on its course: from *Erddig* it goes above *Wresham*, near *Melin Puleston*, by *Dolydd*, *Maesgwyn*, *Rhos-ddu*, *Croes-oneiras*, Mr. *Shakerley's Gwersyllt*; crosses the *Alyn*, and through the township of *Llai*, to *Rhydin*, in the county of FLINT; above which is *Caer-estyn*, a *British* post: from hence it runs by *Hope* church, along the side of *Molesdale*, which it quits towards the lower part, and turns to *Mynydd Sychdyn*, *Monachlog* near *Northop*, by *Northop* mills, *Bryn-moel*, *Coed y Llys*, *Nant y Flint*, *Cefn y Coed*, through the *Strand fields*, near *Holywell*, to its termination below the abby of *Basingwerk*. I have been thus minute in giving its course, because it is so often confounded with OFFA'S ditch, which attends the former at unequal distances, from five hundred yards to three miles, till the latter is totally lost.

OFFA'S DIKE. OFFA'S ditch extended from the river *Wye*, along the counties of *Hereford* and *Radnor*, into that of *Montgomery*, where I shall take it up at its entrance into NORTH WALES, at *Pwll y Piod*,

an ale-house on the road between *Bishop's-castle* and *Newtown*; from thence it passes northward, near *Mellington-hall*, near which is an encampment called *Cuer-din*, by *Brompton* mill, where there is a mount; *Linor* park near *Mountgomery*, *Forden* heath, *Nant-cribba*, at the foot of an antient fortress, *Layton-hall*, and *Buttington* church. Here it is lost for five miles; the channel of the *Severn* probably serving for that space as a continuation of this famous boundary; which, just below the conflux of the *Bele* and the *Severn*, appears again, and passes by the churches of *Llandysilio*, and *Llanymynech*, to the edge of the vast precipitous limestone rock in the last parish: from this place it runs by *Tref y Clawdd*, over the horse-course on *Cefn y Bwch*, above *Oswestry*, then above *Sellatyn*; from whence it descends to the *Ceiriog*, and thence to *Glyn*, where there is a large breach, supposed to be the place of interment of the *English* who fell in the battle of *Crogen*, hereafter to be mentioned: it then goes by *Chirk-castle*; and, below *Cefn y Wern*, crosses the *Dee*, and the *Rhiwabon* road near *Plás Madoc*, forms part of the turnpike-road to *Wrexham*, to *Pentre Bychan*, where there is a mount; then by *Plás Bover* to *Adwy'r Clawdd*, near *Minera*; by *Brymbo*, crosses *Cegidog* river, and through a little valley on the south side of *Bryn Yorkyn* mountain, to *Coed Talarn* and *Cae-darn*, a farm near *Treyddlin* chapel, in the parish

of *Mold* (pointing towards the *Clwydian* hills); beyond which there can no farther traces be discovered.

CÆ DWN, or rather *Cae Twn*, according to doctor *Davies*, signifies *fractura*, than which nothing can be more expressive of the ending of this famous work, which, as I have not long since observed, terminates in a flat cultivated country, on the farm of *Cae Twn*, near *Treyddlyn* chapel, in the parish of *Mold*. The termination is remote from any hill, or place of strength: it is therefore reasonable to imagine, that this mighty attempt was here suddenly interrupted by some cause, of which we must ever remain ignorant.

No reason appears why its course was not continued from sea to sea. It seems probable that *Offa* imagined that the *Clwydian* hills, and the deep valley that lies on this side at their base, would serve as a continuance of his prohibitory line: he had carried his arms over most part of *Flintshire*, and vainly imagined, that his labors would restrain the *Cambrian* inroads in one part, and his orders prevent any incursions beyond these natural limits, which he had decreed should be the boundaries of his new conquests. The weakness of this great work appeared on the death of *Offa*: the *Welsh*, with irresistible fury, despised his toils, and carried their ravages far and wide on the *English* marches.

Superior force often repelled our countrymen. Sanguinary laws were made by the victorious *Harold* against any that should transgress the limits prescribed by *Offa*. The *Welshman* that was found in arms on the *Saxon* side of the ditch, was to lose his right-hand^m.

It is observable, that in all parts the ditch is on the *Welsh* side; and that there are numbers of small artificial mounts, the sites of small forts, in many places along its course. These were garrisoned, and seem intended for the same purposes as the towers in the famous *Chinese* wall, to watch the motions of the neighbors, and to repel the hostile incursions.

It is remarkable, that *Wat's* dike should have been overlooked, or confounded with that of *Offa*, by all writers, except by *Thomas Churchyard* the poetⁿ, who assigns the object of the work: that the space intervening between the two was free ground, where the *Britons* and *Saxons* might meet with safety for all commercial purposes.

FROM *Oswestry* I took the road to *Sellatyn*, a SELLATYN.
parish consisting of the single township of *Porkington*, and containing about six hundred^o inhabitants. Its register, which commences in 1557, was for-

^m *Leland Collect.* iii. 230. *Joannes Sarisburiensis*, as quoted by *Camden*, 698.

ⁿ Vide *Churchyard's Worthines of Wales*, originally printed in 1587; reprinted by *Thomas Eeans*, 1776.

^o In 1801 the number amounted to 701. Ed.

tunately saved from the great wreck of such records by Mr. *Wilding*, an *Oliverian* rector in the civil wars. It appears from it, that the state of population in the first and last twenty years was as follows:

	First.		Last.		Encrease.
Baptisms,	258	...	410	...	152
Weddings,	29	...	98	...	69
Funerals,	189	...	257	...	68 ^p

THIS happy disproportion of encrease between births and burials, seems to arise from the hilly situation of the parish; which slopes down to the moory flats of those of *Oswestry* and *Whittington*, without partaking the lest of their nature. The improvements in agriculture contribute much to retain numbers of the inhabitants, by finding them a wholesome and innocent employ; the want of which exiles multitudes, in many places, to the vice and disease of great cities.

PORKINGTON. IN *Sellatyn* parish is *Porkington*, the seat of my kinsman *Robert Godolphin Owen* esq^q. This place takes its name from a singular entrenchment in a neighboring field, called *Castell Brogyntyn*, a fort belonging to *Owen Brogyntyn*, a natural

^p Between 1788 and 1807.

Baptisms, 538

Weddings, 100

Funerals, 298

ED.

^q Now of his niece, the daughter of the late *Owen Ormsby* esq. ED.

son to *Madoc ap Meredydd* prince of *Powys Fadog*. It is of a circular form, surrounded with a vast earthen dike, and a deep foss. It appears, by an old drawing in Mr. *Mytton's* collection, to have had two entrances, pretty close to each other, projecting a little from the sides, and diverging; the end of each guarded by a semi-lunar curtain. These are now destroyed.

THE name of the house was soon altered to one very nearly resembling the present. In 1218, *Henry III.* in an address to *Llewelyn* prince of *Wales*, informs him, that among others, *Bleddyn Filius Oeni de PORKINGTON*^s had performed to his majesty the service he owed.

SIR JOHN OWEN, the famous royalist, was of this house, but not of the family of *Owen Brogyn-tyn*. He was descended from *Ihufa ap Cynddelw*, one of the fifteen tribes of *North Wales*. Before *Sir John Owen's* family enjoyed the place, it had been long possessed by the *Lacons*. It passed from them to *Sir William Morris*, of *Clenenny*, in *Caernarvonshire*, by virtue of his marriage with the daughter of *William Wynne Lacon*, esq., and was conveyed into the family of the present owner by the marriage of the grand-daughter of that match with *John*, fourth son of *Robert Owen*, of *Bôdsilin*, in *Anglesea*. This gentleman (who was father of

SIR JOHN
OWEN.

^r *Powel*, 212.

^s *Rymer*, i. 227.

Sir *John*) had been secretary to the great *Walsingham*, and made a fortune of ten thousand pounds; a sum perhaps despised by modern secretaries, but a vast one in those days. His master did not take such good care of himself, for he did not leave sufficient to defray his funeral expenses. Here is preserved the portrait of Sir *John*, a strenuous supporter of the cause of *Charles I.*; a colonel in the army, and vice-admiral of *North Wales*. He greatly signalized himself at the siege of *Bristol*, when it was taken by prince *Rupert*, and was desperately wounded in the attack. Congenial qualities recommended him to his highness; who, superseding the appointment of archbishop *Williams* to the government of *Conwy* castle, in 1645, constituted Sir *John* commander in his place. This fortress was soon given up to general *Mytton*, by the contrivance of the prelate, and the power of his friends: and the knight retired to his seat in the distant parts of the county. In 1648, he rose in arms to make a last effort in behalf of his fallen master, probably in concert with the royalists in *Kent* and *Essex*. He was soon attacked by *William Lloyd*, sheriff of the county, whom he defeated, wounded, and made prisoner. He then laid siege to *Caernarvon*; but hearing that certain of the parlement forces, under the colonels *Carter* and *Twisleton*, were on their march to attack him, he hastened to meet them, and took the

sheriff with him on a litter. He met with his enemies near *Llandegai*: a furious rencontre ensued, in which Sir *John* had at first the advantage; but falling in with their reserve, fortune declared against him: in a personal contest with a captain *Taylor*, he was pulled off his horse, and made prisoner; his troops, disheartened by the loss of their commander, took to flight. The sheriff died the same day. The victory was esteemed of such consequence, that captain *Taylor*, who was the messenger of the news to the parlement, received a reward of two hundred pounds out of Sir *John*'s estate^t.

SIR JOHN was conveyed to *Windsor* castle, where he found four noblemen under confinement for the same cause. On the 10th of *November*, a vote passed for his banishment, and that of the lords *Goring*, *Loughborough*, *Capel*, the earl of *Holland*, and major general *Langhern*^u; but after the execution of their royal master, sanguinary measures took place. The duke of *Hamilton*, the earl of *Holland*, and the lords *Goring* and *Capel*, were put upon their trials. Sir *John* shewed a spirit worthy of his country. He told his judges, that 'he was a plain gentleman of *Wales*, who had 'been always taught to obey the king; that he 'had served him honestly during the war; and,

^t *Rushworth*, ii. part iv. 1146.

^u *Whitlock*, 348.

‘ finding many honest men endeavoured to raise
 ‘ forces, whereby he might get him out of prison,
 ‘ he did the like;’ and concluded like a man who
 did not much care what they resolved concerning
 him. In the end he was condemned to lose his
 head; for which, with a humorous intrepidity, he
 made the court a low reverence, and gave his
 humble thanks. A by-stander asked what he
 meant: he replied aloud, ‘ It was a great honor to
 ‘ a poor gentleman of *Wales* to lose his head with
 ‘ such noble lords; for by G—, he was afraid
 ‘ they would have hanged him.’

SIR JOHN, by mere good-fortune, was disappointed of the honor he was flattered with; being, as his epitaph says, *Famæ plus quam vitæ sollicito*. He neither solicited for a pardon, nor was any petition offered to parlement in his favor; which was strongly importuned in behalf of his fellow-prisoners. *Ireton*^x proved his advocate, and told the house, ‘ That there was one person for whom
 ‘ no one spoke a word: and therefore requested,
 ‘ that he might be saved by the sole motive and
 ‘ goodness of the house.’ In consequence, mercy

^x Mrs. *Hutchinson*, in her interesting ‘Memoirs*,’ says that Sir *J. Owen* entirely owed his life to the humanity and exertions of her husband and of *Ireton*, ‘ that his keepers had brought a petition to
 ‘ the clerks of the house; but the man had not found any one that
 ‘ would interest themselves for him, thinking the lords lives of so
 ‘ much more concernment than this gentleman’s.’ ED.

was extended to him; and, after a few months imprisonment, he was, on his petition, set at liberty. He retired again into his country, where he died in 1666; and was interred in the church of *Penmorfa* in *Caernarvonshire*, where a small monument preserves the following epitaph.

M. S.

JOHANNIS OWEN de

Clennency in *Co. Carnarvon* militis,

viri

in patriam amoris ardentissimi:

in regem (beatissimum martyrem CAROLUM I^{um})

indubitatae fidelitatis clari;

qui ad sacrosanctam majestatem a perduellionum
rabie eripiendam, summa pericula, lubentissimè obivit,

Hostium copias non semel fudit, ac fregit;

religionem vindicavit:

Donec, infelici sorte in perditissimorum hominum manus,

Regali jam sanguine imbutas,

inciderit Dux præstantissimus:

Unde supplex sese obsessum redimerat

nisi quod Heroi consummatissimo

Famæ plus, quam vitæ sollicito, tale *λυτρον* displicuit.

Collo igitur imperterritè oblato,

securis aciem retudit divina vis;

volucrisque fati tardavit alas, donec senex lætissimus

CAROLUM 2^{dum} et sibi et suis restitutum viderat.

A^o Domi 1666, et Ætatis suæ 66. placidè expiravit.

FROM *Porkington*, I ascended to the parish-church. The legend of the foundation is, that a noble *Briton* being engaged in the chace, found in a thicket on this spot a white hind; which determined him (after the example of *Ethelred* king of the *Mercians*, in the instance of St. *John's* church

SELLATYN
CHURCH.

Chester) to dedicate it to sacred uses. He accordingly translated to this place the antient church, which, tradition says, stood before on a spot still called *Bryn hên Eglwys*, or the hill of the old church.

WITHIN is the following elegant epitaph in memory of Sir *Robert Owen*, knight, son, as I think, of the celebrated hero Sir *John*.

H. S. E.
 ROBERTUS OWEN de *Porkinton*
 Eques auratus
 Ex antiquo *Hwje* ap *Cynddelew*
 Et regio *Oeni Gwyneth* stemmate
 Oriundus
 Probitate et fortitudine clarus.
 Nulli infestus,
 Plurimis amicus,
 Bonis omnibus charus.
 Dum vixit amatus,
 Desideratus dum obiit,
 3tio Kalendarum *Aprilis*,
 M. DC. XCVIII.

IN the same church was deposited the body of a *Welsh* prelate, *John Hammer* bishop of *St. Asaph*, who died at his seat of *Pentrepant* in this parish in the year 1629.

DOCTOR
 SACHEVEREL.

THAT high-church meteor, that party-tool, Doctor *Sacheverel*, was, in 1709, presented to this living; not so much on account of its value, as to give him a pretence of making a progress through a great extent of the kingdom; and of trying the inclinations of the people in the rich and populous

counties he was to pass through. He was met on the confines of this by 5000 horsemen, among whom were men of the first fortunes of *Shropshire*. He received respect, in every town, little short of adoration. The crowd in *Oswestry* was so great, that a good old woman could see only a small part of the holy man; yet consoled herself with having a sight of his ever-blessed wig as he rode along.

FROM hence I hastened towards *Chirk* castle, keeping a lower road between the two dikes. On approaching the village of *Chirk*, is a very deep valley^y, consisting of fertile meadows, watered by the brook *Ceiriog*, and finely bounded by lofty wooded banks. On the very verge of that next to *Chirk*, stands an artificial mount; and, I think, the vestige of another, on the other side of the road which goes between them. These were exploratory, and probably designed also for defence; and might have had on them a small fort for the pro-

^y At the upper end of the valley appears a magnificent stone aqueduct of ten arches, which serves to convey the *Ellesmere* canal from bank to bank; its length including the abutments is one hundred and ninety-six feet, its height to the usual surface of the water sixty-five feet. From hence the canal passes in a long tunnel through an intervening hill, and when it again emerges, is carried across the vale of the *Dee* near *Pont y Cysyllte*, first along a stupendous mound, and then is suspended in iron troughs, supported by pillars of beautiful masonry, at an elevation of one hundred and twenty-six feet above the bed of the river. The length of the embankment is fifteen hundred feet, of the iron troughs one thousand. The pillars which support this aerial canal are eighteen in number. ED.

tection of the pass. I imagine these mounts to have been *Saxon*, and coeval with the great labor of *Offa*, which runs at a small distance from them.

BATTLE OF
CROGEN.

IN this deep valley which winds along the foot of the vast *Berwyn* mountains, was a bloody conflict between part of the forces of *Henry II.* and the *Welsh*, in 1165. *Henry* had determined once more to attempt the subjection of *Wales*, and to revenge the ravages carried through the borders by its gallant prince *Owen Gwynedd*; for that end, he assembled a vast army at *Oswestry*. *Owen*, on the contrary, collected all his chieftains, with their dependants, at *Corwen*. The king, hearing that his antagonist was so near, resolved to bring the matter to a speedy decision. He marched towards him; and in this valley, finding himself intangled in impenetrable woods, and recollecting his ill-fortune among the forests of *Eulo*, directed his vanguard to make the passage clear by cutting down the trees, in order to secure himself from ambuscade. The pikemen, and flower of his army, were posted to cover the workmen. The spirit of the common soldiers of the *Welsh* army grew indignant at this attempt; and, without the knowledge of their officers, fell with unspeakable fury on these troops. The contest was violent; numbers of brave men perished; in the end, the *Welsh* retired to *Corwen*. *Henry* gained the summit of the *Berwyn*; but was so distressed by dreadful

rains, and by the activity and prudence of *Owen*, who cut him off from all supplies, that he was obliged to return ingloriously, with great loss of men and equipage^z.

THIS conflict is sometimes called the battle of *Corwen*; but with more propriety that of *Crogen*; for it happened beneath *Castellh Crogen*, the present *Chirk* castle; and the place still called *Adwy'r Beddau*, or the pass of the graves of the men who were slain here.

THE church of *Chirk*(¹) is dedicated to St. *Mary*; and was formerly an impropriation(²) belonging to the abby of *Valle Crucis*. Within is a profusion of marble, cut into human forms, memorial of the later lords of the place, or their ladies. The best is a bust of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, with a peaked beard, long hair; armed: and by him is another of his lady, a *Napier of Luton*. Sir *Thomas* was a successful and active commander on the side of the parlement during the civil wars. Towards the end of his life, he found that he had undesignedly established a more intolerable tyranny than that

CHURCH OF
CHIRK.

MONUMENTS.

^z *Powel*, 221.

(¹) *Chirk* is called in Welsh *Eglwys y Waen*, that is to say the Church of the Moor, and *Chirk* seems to be merely a dialectic variety of the word whence church itself comes, and to stand between it and the Scotch kirk; compare *Birkenhead* with *birken* instead of *birchen*, and the Southwalian *perc* for the measure more usually called a perch or pole in English. J.R.

(²) The distinction between impropriation and appropriation is not observed here. T.P.

which he had formerly opposed. In 1659, he took arms, in conjunction with Sir *George Booth*, in order to restore the antient constitution. Sir *George* was defeated by the vigilant *Lambert*; and Sir *Thomas* forced to take refuge in his castle, where, after two or three days shew of defence, he was constrained to surrender on such conditions as the conqueror was pleased to dictate. The family pedigree says that the castle was commanded by his son (afterwards Sir *Thomas*) when *Lambert* came before it.

THE other monuments are composed of large and very ill-executed figures of lady *Middleton*, wife to Sir *Thomas Middleton* baronet, son of the former. She was daughter of Sir *Thomas Wilbraham* of *Woodhey*; and died at the early age of twenty-two, in the year 1675.

SIR RICHARD MIDDLETON, and his lady, *Frances* daughter of Sir *Thomas Whitmore* of *Buildas*. He died in 1716; she in 1694. At their feet lies their son Sir *William*, the last baronet, who survived his father only two years, dying at the age of twenty-four.

ON a small mural monument, is an elegant epitaph on Doctor *Walter Balcanqual*, a *Scotch* divine of distinguished character. In 1617, he was appointed master of the *Savoy* hospital, which he soon resigned in favour of the able but desultory *Marc Antonio di Dominis*, archbishop of *Spalatro*,

in reward for his conversion to Protestantism. In 1618, he was sent to represent his country in the famous synod of *Dort*. He was promoted to the deanery of *Rochester*; and, in 1639, to that of *Durham*; by his great loyalty, having rendered himself hated by his countrymen, he was, in 1645, obliged to take refuge in *Chirk castle*; but, sinking under the fatigue of the journey, and severity of the weather, he died on *Christmas-day*. The epitaph was composed by Dr. *Pearson* bishop of *Chester*, at the request of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, by whom the monument was erected.

THE castle lies about a mile from the village, in the course of *Offa's dike*, on the summit of a lofty hill, projecting from the great mass of the *Berwyn* mountains. Before the foundation of the present castle, stood another, called *Castell Crogen*; and the territory around bore the name of *Tref y Waun*, the property of the lords of *Dinas Brân*. It continued in their possession till the death of *Gryffydd ap Madoc*, a strenuous partizan of *Henry III.* and *Edward I.* *Edward*, on the decease of *Gryffydd*, rewarded two of his favorites with the guardianship of the two eldest sons of *Gryffydd*: he entrusted *Madoc* to *John earl Warren*; and *Llewelyn* to *Roger Mortimer*, son of *Roger baron of Wigmore*: who, as before related, quickly dispatched the unhappy youths, and possessed themselves of their fortunes. *Earl Warren* seized on the lord-

CASTLE.

ships of *Bromfield* and *Yale*; *Mortimer* on those of the present *Chirk* and *Nan-heudwy*. He became the founder of the castle. It continued in his family but a short time, being sold by his grandson *John* to *Richard Fitz-alan* earl of *Arundel*. The *Fitz-alans* possessed it for three generations; after which it passed to *Thomas Mowbray* duke of *Norfolk*, and justice of *North Wales*, *Chester*, and *Flint*, in right of his wife *Elizabeth*, elder sister to *Thomas* earl of *Arundel*. On the disgrace and exile of *Mowbray*, in 1397, it probably was resumed by the crown; and granted again to *William Beauchamp* lord of *Abergavenny*, who married the other sister; and by the marriage of his grand-daughter, sole heiress of *Richard Beauchamp* earl of *Worcester*, with *Edward Nevil* (afterwards lord *Abergavenny*) was conveyed into that family, in the reign of *Henry VI.*^a

THE next possessor which occurs to me, is the unfortunate Sir *William Stanley*, who, as *Leland* says, 'repayred it welle.' After his ungrateful execution, it became forfeited to his rapacious master; and, as I conjecture, was bestowed, in 1534, along with *Holt Castle* (another of Sir *William's* castles) by *Henry VIII.* on his natural son *Henry Fitz-roy* duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*^b. By his early death it reverted again to the crown.

IN the following reign, I imagine it to have been

^a *Powel*, 213.

^b *King's Vale-royal*, 195.

granted to *Thomas* lord *Seymour*, brother to the protector *Somerset*; for I find him in possession of *Holt*^c, to which it was an appendage.

ELIZABETH granted it, with the same lordships, to her worthless favourite *Dudley* earl of *Leicester*. On his death *Chirk Castle* became the property of lord St. *John* of *Bletso*; whose son, in 1595, sold it to Sir *Thomas Middleton* knight, mayor of *London* in 1614.

IN the year 1642, Charles I. by an order from *Oxford*, directed colonel *Robert Ellyce*, colonel of a regiment of foot, to possess himself of *Chirk Castle*, and to apply any money or plate he found there to the payment of his regiment, and then to deliver it to Sir *Thomas Haumer*, whom his majesty had appointed governor. This gentleman was of *Gwesnewydd* near *Wrexham*, but descended from the *Lloyds* of *Bodidris* in *Yale*. He had served under *Gustavus Adolphus*, and was highly trusted by *Charles*. He had first a regiment of six hundred men, which being much weakened, he had a new commission, dated *November* 1643, for the raising of twelve hundred. Lord *Capel* also did him the honor of appointing him commander in chief (under him) of the counties of *Denbigh* and *Flint*.

THIS exalted pile has much to boast of in its vast view into seventeen counties, a most elegant

^c *Dugdale Baron*. ii. 368.

and varied extent! The castle is square, and has five rounders uncommonly clumsy and heavy. Lord *Clarendon* and others speak of the entire demolition of this fortress after its reddition to *Lambert*. Only one side, with three towers, were pulled down, which Sir *Thomas Middleton* lived to re-build in one year.

THE chief apartments are a saloon, fifty-six feet by twenty-seven; and a drawing room within: a gallery, a hundred feet by twenty-two, filled with portraits. Among them are those of the duke of *Ormond*, and his son lord *Ossory*; the most virtuous characters, and the greatest ornaments of the vicious age of *Charles II.* admired, revered, unimitated. *Ossory* died before his father; who bore his loss with the firmness of a *Roman*, founded on the certain hopes of a Christian. I can scarcely say whether he passed a finer eulogy on his son, or satire on the times, by declaring, *he would not change his dead son for any living one in EUROPE.*

LORD KEEPER Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, keeper of the great seals, in his robes, and with lank hair. He presided over two courts of justice with the most amiable character; and lost the seals for his refusal, in 1672, to affix them to the king's insidious declaration of liberty of conscience.

LADY BRIDGEMAN, second wife to Sir *Orlando*, and mother to *Charlotte* wife to Sir *Thomas Middleton*.

SIR THOMAS MIDDLETON in armour; grey beard, and long black hair. The same gentleman who is mentioned in the account of the tombs.

His daughter, countess of *Warwick*, dowager to *Edward Rich* earl of *Warwick*, and afterwards wife to Mr. *Addison*, and the reputed cause of his intemperance.

THE usual appertenance to antient castles, the dungeon, must not be forgotten. The descent is by forty-two steps; but, according to the laudable usage of its present lord, the captives endure but a short and easy confinement; and even that passes imperceptibly, amidst the good cheer and generous liquors bestowed on them by the kind warder, to whose custody they are committed.

RE-PASSING through the castle gate, I recollect a barbarous privilege, retained longer in this country than in any other part of *Britain*, that of exempting from capital punishment even the most atrocious assassin, by payment of a certain fine. This was practised by the lord marchers of these parts in the fifteenth century; and continued in *Mowddwy* in *Meirioneddshire* till it was abolished in the 27th of *Henry VIII*^a.

BARBAROUS
CUSTOM.

THIS custom was derived from the antient *Germans*, who accepted a fine of cattle as a compensation for murder; this satisfied the relations, and was not detrimental to the public, which could not

^a *Gwydir* family, 107.

fail being injured by the extension of private revenge^c.

WERE-GELD. THE *Saxons* continued the custom under the name of *Were-geld*; and accordingly set a price on every rank, from the king to the peasant^d. The head of the king was valued at thirty thousand *thrymses*, or 4,500*l.*; half to be paid to his relations, and half to the kingdom for the loss it had sustained: that of a countryman was esteemed at two hundred and sixty-six, or 39*l.* 18*s.*

THE *Were-geld* of a *Welshman* was very low; for, unless he had property enough to be taxed for the king's use, his life was not reckoned of higher price than seventy *thrymses*, or ten guineas. The money or fine was distributed, as in the time of the antient *Germans*, among the relations of the deceased; and oftentimes a part went to the lord of the soil, as a compensation for his loss.

GWERTH. THE *Welsh* had in like manner their *Galanas* and *Gwerth*, of the same nature with the former; but our fine was usually paid in cattle, the wealth of the country.

THE *Gwerth* was not only a compensation for murder or homicide, but for all species of injuries. To cuckold the prince was expiated at a very high rate^e; the offender was fined in a gold cup and

^c Tacitus *de mor. Germ.* c. 2.

^d Wilkin's *Leges Sax.* 71.

^e *Leges Walliæ*, 199.

cover, as broad as his majesty's face, and as thick as a ploughman's nail who had ploughed nine years; and a rod of gold as tall as the king, and as thick as his little finger; a hundred cows for every *cantref* he ruled over, with a white bull with different colored ears to every hundred cows.

THE recompence to a virgin who had been seduced is very singular: On complaint made that she was deserted by her lover, it was ordered by the court, that she was to lay hold of the tail of a bull three years old, introduced through a wicker-door, shaven, and well greased. Two men were to goad the beast: if she could by dint of strength retain the bull, she was to have it by way of satisfaction; if not, she got nothing but the grease that remained in her hands^h. I fear by this, and other penalties for the same offence, that the crime was not held by my countrymen to be of a very deep dye.

WELSH, SAXONS, and NORMANS, had each their pecuniary atonements for lesser injuries. A *Welshman*, for the loss of his finger, received one cow and twenty pence; of his nose, six oxen and a hundred and twenty pence; and for being pulled by the hair, a penny for every finger, and two-pence for the thumb, the instruments of the insultⁱ. The *Saxons* had similar fines^k; and the *Normans*, like

^h *Leges Wallicæ*, 82.

ⁱ The same, 278.

^k *Wilkins's Leges Saxon.* 44.

persons of nice honor, provided a penalty of five *sous* for a lug by the nose, and ten *pour un coup au derriere*¹.

THE *Scotch* had also similar compensations for homicides and injuries; which, in their old laws, passed under the name of *Cro*, *Galnes*, and *Kelchyn*^m: and lastly, the *Irish* had their *Eric*, or satisfaction for bloodⁿ. In fact, it prevailed over all parts of *Europe*, with variations conformable to the several complexions of the country.

I CANNOT but relate the occasion of this digression. Two villains, who had committed a most horrid murder^o in the remote parts of *Wales*, fled into this neighborhood for protection, about the latter end of the fifteenth century. Two families at that time divided the country with their feuds; the *Kyffins* and the *Trevors*: who were ready at any time to receive under their protection, any banditti that were recommended to them by their remote friends, when their villanies rendered it unsafe for them to remain at home. The *Trevors* at this time gave asylum to these murderers. The friends of the person they had slain wished for revenge: being at that time in league with the

¹ MS. notes to my copy of *Les Coustumes de Normandie*.

^m *Regiam Majestatem*, 74.

ⁿ *Davies, Hist. Ireland*, 109.

^o They had killed a poor parson, at the instigation of their chieftain, because his wife had preferred the nursing another great man's child to his.

Kyffins, a plot was laid to surprise the assassins. *Jevan ap Merefydd*, a gentleman of *Caernarvonshire*, who was most anxious to obtain redress for the injury, came over with six men, and was directed to keep himself concealed lest the *Trevors* should be alarmed, and frustrate his design. He accordingly kept within all day, and watched all night: at length the villains fell into his hands. The *Trevors* instantly pursued him; when he was told by the *Kyffins*, that if he was overtaken, and the offenders rescued, he would lose his revenge; for, according to the custom of the country, they would be carried before the gate of *Chirk castle*, and be instantly cleared, on the payment of five pounds. This determined *Jevan* to order his followers to strike off their heads on the spot. One of them executed his order but faintly; when the criminal told him, that if he had his neck under his sword, he would *make it take a better edge*^p. I wish the cause had been better, that applause might have been given to this contempt of death; but such assassins as these could scarcely be animated with that prospect of immortality; which made their remote ancestors, inspired by the *Druid* songs, think it disgraceful to preserve a life that was so soon to return.

THE same consideration influenced the antient

^p *Gwydir family*, 107.

Danes; a warrior fell^a, laughed, and died. Thus was the end of the Scandinavian hero, Agnerus.

Herculè nemo illo visus mihi fortior unquam;
Semivigil subsedit enim cubitoque reclinis
Ridendo exceptit lethum, mortemque cachinno
Sprevit: et *Elysium* gaudens successit in orbem.
Magua viri virtus, quæ risu calluit uno
Supremam celare necem, summumque dolorem
Corporis ac mentis læto compescere vultu!

SAXO GRAMM. p. 36. l. 29.

Ne'er did I yet such fortitude behold!
By the stern king of terrors uncontrol'd
The hero fell. Upon his arm reclin'd,
Serene his features, and compos'd his mind.
Th' *Elysian* fields just op'ning to his view,
To *Odin's* hall with eager haste he flew:
With joy, with triumph, he resign'd his breath,
And smil'd away the agonies of death.

R. W.

BRYNKI-
NALLT.

FROM *Chirk*, I made an excursion to *Brynkinnallt*, about a mile below the village. This had been the seat of the *Trevors*, descended from *Ednyfed Gam*, a descendant of *Tudor Trevor*.

THE house^r is of brick, built in 1619. In it is a good portrait of Sir *John Trevor*, master of the rolls, in the robes of his office, sitting. He enjoyed that place both in the reign of *James II.* and of *William III.* He was able, dexterous, and en-

^a *Bartholinus de Contempt. Mortis*, p. 5.

^r *Brynkinnallt* has been enlarged and *gothicised* by the present Lord *Dungannon*. ED.

terprizing; and in the reign of the first, had the disgraceful compliment paid to him of being the designed successor in the chancellorship to *Jeffries*, in case it was possible that the last could have been affected with any scruples. King *William* found it necessary to make use of *Trevor*, who was appointed first lord commissioner of the great seal, and privy counsellor. He had been speaker of the house of commons in each reign. In that of *William*, he is recorded to have been the first who managed a party by buying votes, for which purpose he was intrusted with money by the court; but in 1694-5, was expelled the house for receiving a bribe of a thousand guineas from the city of *London*, in order to expedite the passing of the *Orphan* bill, which had long stuck in the house; and which he ought to have done from the sole motive of justice and compassion. The commons designed to have proceeded against him by impeachment; but the affair dropped by the prorogation of parlement. Yet his pride must have suffered most severely; for he was compelled officially to put the question to the house, ‘That Sir *John Trevor*, speaker of the house, by receiving a gratuity from the city, &c. &c. was ‘guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor.’

By the marriage of his daughter *Anne* to *Michael Hill* esq. it passed into this family, and is now possessed by *Arthur* lord *Dungannon*, de-

scended from *Arthur Hill* esq. second son of that match.

ON leaving *Chirk* castle, I ascended the front of
 CEFN UCHA. *Cefn Ucha*, amidst the magnificent and flourishing
 plantations that arise under the direction of the
 present owner*. This lofty hill extends towards
Llangollen, and affords a prospect uncommonly
 great. The distant view is boundless. One side
 impends over a most beautiful valley, watered by
 the *Dee*; diversified with groves, and bounded to-
 wards the end by barren and naked rocks, tier
 above tier.

DESCEND towards *Llangollen*, seated on the
 river, environed by lofty mountains. Enjoy a most
 beautiful ride by the side of the *Dee*. On the
 opposite bank, *Trevor* house makes a handsome
 appearance. It once belonged to the *Trevors*;
 passed by marriage to the *Lloyds* of *Glanafon* in
Montgomeryshire, and again by the same means
 to the *Lloyds* of *Pentre-hobin* in *Flintshire*. Below
 it, almost at the water edge, is a grotesque antient
 house, which gives variety to the scenery, called
Plás yn Pentre, once the property of the *Foulkes*;
 in later days of the *Skies* of *Oswestry*.

AT a small distance from *Llangollen*, I made a
 PENGWERN. little deviation to the left, to visit *Pengwern*, or

* Father to the late *Richard Myddleton*, Esq. in whom terminated.
 the male line of the family. ED.

Llys Pengwern, a seat of *Ednefyd Gam*, fourth son of *Jerwerth Voel*, and eleventh in descent from *Tudor Trevor* earl of *Hereford*, from whom the *Mostyns* are lineally descended. It is still possessed by Sir *Roger*^t, the *Pen Cenedl* of his name.

LITTLE remains of the old house, excepting a narrow, vaulted room, whose roof is formed of nine strong ribs of stone, covered with narrow flags layed over them like planks. The room above seems to have been covered in the same manner. The family resided here for about four hundred years, till its acquisition of *Mostyn*, by the marriage of the heiress, as before related.

LLANGOLLEN is a small and poor town, seated LLANGOLLEN. in a most romantic spot, near a pretty common watered by the *Dee*, which, emblematic of its country, runs with great passion through the valley. The mountains soar to a vast height above their wooded bases; and one, whose summit is crowned with the antient castle *Brân*, is uncommonly grand.

I KNOW no place in *North Wales*, where the refined lover of picturesque scenes, the sentimental, or the romantic, can give a fuller indulgence to his inclination. No place abounds more with various rides or solemn walks. From this cen-

^t At present by his son Sir *Thomas Mostyn*. Ed.

tral spot, he may (as I have done) visit the seat of *Owen Glyndwr*, and the fine vallies of the *Dee*, to its source, beyond the great *Llyntegid*: or pass the mountains to the fertile vale of *Clwyd*: or make the tour of *Wrexham*; or visit the places which I have just left.

AMONG the walks on the banks of the *Dee*, the venerable remains of the neighboring abbey, and the arduous ascent of *Castell Dinas Brân*, are so engaging, that I believe no traveller of taste will think a repetition of them tedious.

CHURCH. THE church of *Llangollen* is dedicated to St. *Collen ap Gwynnawg*, ap *Clydawg*, ap *Cowrda*, ap *Caradog Freichfras*, ap *Llyr Merini*, ap *Einion Yrth*, ap *Cunedda Wledig*, by *Ethni Wyddeles*, daughter to *Matholwch* lord of *Cwl* in the kingdom of *Ireland*; which saint was buried here; and has left behind him a legend worthy of the *Coran* itself. In the church had formerly been a recumbent figure in alabaster, of a churchman, which was vulgarly called that of St. *Collen*.

BRIDGE. THE bridge, which was founded by the first *John Trevor* bishop of St. *Asaph*^u, who died in 1357, is one of the *Tri Thlws Cymru*, or three beauties of *Wales*: but more remarkable for its situation than structure. It consists of five arches, the widest of which does not exceed twenty-eight

^u *Willis's St. Asaph*, 52. 285.

feet in diameter. The river usually runs under only one; where it has formed a black chasm of vast depth, into which the water pours with great fury, from a high broken ledge, part of the smooth and solid rock, which composes the whole bed of the river. The view through the arches, either upwards or downwards, is extremely picturesque.

NEAR the foot of the bridge, opposite to the town, begins the ascent to *Castell Dinas Brân*, CASTELL
DINAS BRAN. whose remains nearly cover the summit of a vast conoid hill, steeply sloped on every side. The form is oblong: the materials the coarse stone of the country, with here and there a few free-stone moldings. The side, which is less steep, is defended by deep trenches, cut through the solid rock. This was one of our primitive *Welsh* castles. The founder is unknown. I dare not attribute its origin and name to *Brennus* king of the *Gauls*, who besieged the capitol; and who is fabled to have come into these parts to fight with his brother *Belinus*; nor yet do I derive it from *Bryn*, a hill, nor *Bran*, a crow; but from the mountain river *Brân*, that runs down its side.

It had been the chief seat of the lords of *Jâl*, or *Yale*; and probably was founded by one of them. In the reign of *Henry III.* it was the retreat of *Gryffydd ap Madoc*, who traiterously siding with the *English* against his countrymen,

was obliged to secure himself in this aerial fastness.

ON the death of *Gryffydd*, *Edward I.* ungratefully bestowed on *John* earl *Warren*, the wardship of the eldest son of his old partizan; as he did that of the second on *Roger Mortimer*. Both the guardians understood the meaning of the favor; and accordingly made away with the poor children and received full possession of their estates^x, as before related. From the *Warrens* it passed by marriage to the *Fitz-alans*, and followed the succession of the lords of *Bromfield*.

THE time of its ruin is unknown. *Leland* speaks of it as a demolished place; and adds, that an eagle built annually in the neighboring rocks; that a person was wont to be lowered down in a basket to take the young; and was obliged to have another basket over his head, to save him from the fury of the old birds.

MYFANWY
VECHAN.

IN 1390, this castle was inhabited by a celebrated beauty, descended from the house of *Tudor Trevor*, and whose father probably held the castle under the earls of *Arundel*. The name of the lady was *Myfanwy Vechan*; she made a conquest of *Howel ap Einion Lygliw*, a celebrated bard, who composed the following ode addressed to her; which an ingenious friend was pleased to favour me with in an *English* dress.

^x *Rotuli Wallie*, 81.

NEUD wyf ddihunwyf, hoen Creirwy hoywdeg,
A'm hudodd, &c.

Sorrowing I strike the plaintive string;
Deign, cruel maid, to hear me sing;
And let my song thy pride controul,
Divine enchantress of my soul;
Sure *Creirwy's* charms must yield to thine,
And *Garewy's*^s sufferings to mine.
Far from *Myfanwy's* marble tow'rs.
I pass my solitary hours.
O thou that shinest like the sky.
Behold thy faithful *Howel* die!
In golden verse, in flowery lays,
Sweetly I sang *Myfanwy's* praise;
Still the disdainful, haughty fair,
Laughs at my pain, and my despair.
What though thine eyes, as black as sloes,
Vie with the arches of thy brows;
Must thy desponding lover die,
Slain by the glances of thine eye?

Pensive, as *Trystan*^z, did I speed

To *Brân*, upon a stately steed:

Fondly I gaze: but hard's my doom,
Oh fairer than the cherry's bloom!
Thus at a distance to behold
Whom my fond arms would fain enfold.
How swift on *Alban*^a steed, I flew,
Thy dazzling countenance to view!
Though hard the steep ascent to gain,
Thy smiles were harder to obtain.

^s This knight and lady seem to have been the same with *Syr Gareth* and *Damoyzell Lynet*, celebrated in the viith book of the *Storye of the most worthy kynge Arthur*. *Sir Gareth* loved and was beloved by the fair *Lyones*, sister to *Lynet*. Their passion exceeded the bounds of discretion; but *Lynet*, to save their honor, by enchantment prevents their loves, till they are joined together in holy matrimony.

^z *Trystan* was another famous knight. His sorrow seems to have arose from his being deserted by a lady, who, as the history relates, forsook him for *Syr Bleoberys*.

^a A *Scotch* horse.

Thy peerless beauties to declare
 Was still thy zealous lover's care,
 O fairer thou, and colder too,
 Than new fall'n snow on *Aran's*^a brow!
 O, lovely flow'r of *Trecor's* race, }
 Let not a cruel heart disgrace }
 The beauties of that heavenly face! }
 Thou art my daily thought; each night
 Presents *Myfanwy* to my sight;
 And death alone can draw the dart
 Which love has fixed in my heart.
 Ah! canst thou, with ungentle eye,
 Behold thy faithful *Howel* die?
 For thee my verse shall ever run,
 Bright rival of the mid-day sun!
 Shou'dst thou demand thy lover's eyes,
 Gladly to thee I'd sacrifice
 My useless sight, that only shews
 The cruel author of its woes,
 Refulgent in her golden bower,
 As morning in her eastern tower.
 Thy name the echoing vallies round,
 Thy name a thousand hills resound,
Myfanwy Vechan, maid divine!
 No name so musical as thine;
 And every bard with rapture hung
 On the soft music of my song.
 For thee I languish, pine, and rave,
 White as *Dwrdwy's* curling wave.
 Alas! no words can speak my pain,
 While thus I love, but love in vain!
 Wisdom, and Reason, what are they,
 What all the charms of Poësy,
 Against the fury of thy darts,
 Thou vanquisher of human hearts!

* Two lofty mountains in *Meirioneddshire*. This poem is taken from the collection formed by the learned and ingenious Mr. *Evan Evans*. The original was found written on parchment in the castle of *Dinas Brân*. SEBRIGHT COL.

When first I saw thee, princely maid!
 In scarlet robes of state array'd,
 Thy beauties set my soul on fire,
 And every motion fann'd desire;
 The more on thy sweet form I gaz'd,
 The more my frantic passion blaz'd,
 Not half so fine the spider's thread
 That glitters on the dewy mead,
 As the bright ringlets of thy hair.
 Thou beauteous object of my care!
 But ah! my sighs, my tears, are vain!
 The cruel maid insults my pain!

And canst thou, without pity, see
 The victim of thy cruelty—

Pale with despair and robb'd of sleep,
 Whose only business is to weep?—
 Behold thy bard, thy poet, languish!
 Oh! ease thy bard's, thy poet's, anguish;
 And for Heaven's sake some pity shew,
 Ere to the shades of night I go!
 O, fairer than the flowers adorning
 The hawthorn in a summer's morning!
 While life remains, I still will sing
 Thy praise, and make the mountains ring
 With fair *Myfanwy's* tuneful name!
 And from misfortune purchase fame;
 Nor ev'n to die shall I repine,
 So *Howel's* name may live with thine.

R.W.

AFTER a short repose, on my descent from the castle, I made an excursion to *Rhiwabon*, a few miles from *Llangollen*. For some time the ride was along the sides of the *Dee*, which watered a beautiful narrow vale. The hills at length approximate so nearly, as only to leave room for a most picturesque passage, shaded with trees. Cross a bridge called the *New bridge*, and ascend for some

RHIWABON.

space, leaving on the left considerable pits both of coal and canal: reach the village of *Rhiwabon*, which takes its name from the *Avon*⁽¹⁾, or little river on which it lies.

CHURCH. THE church is dedicated to St. *Mary*. It has been lately fitted up in a very neat manner, chiefly at the expence of Sir *Watkin Williams Wynn*, who bestowed on it an organ, and a small font; the last, on occasion of the christening of his eldest son^c in 1772, is of white marble, supported by a tripod of distinguished elegance.

MONUMENTS. THE monument to his first wife, lady *Harriet Somerset*⁽²⁾, who died July 24, 1769, is in a fine taste. The figure of Hope reclines on an urn, and is attended with her usual emblem of an anchor. A serpent with its tail in its mouth, expressive of eternity, includes the inscription on one side of the pedestal.

As a contrast to this excellent performance of Mr. *Nolleken*, is placed against the wall a great monument of *Henry Wynn* esq. tenth son of old Sir *John Wynn* of *Gwedyr*, who died in 1671.

(1) This cannot of course be right, as the name ought then to have been *Rhiwafon*; the derivation is *Rhiw-fabon*, and *Mabon* was the name of a character in Welsh legends, probably a degraded god of the Celts. As to the ellision of *f* in this name, compare *Bod-organ* (for *Bod-Forgan*) in *Anglesey*. J.R.

^c The present baronet. ED.

(2) Lady *Harriet Somerset* should be "*Henrietta*." T.P.

His attitude is that of a fanatical preacher; and his dress a full-buttoned coat, short skirts, and square shoes; a most unhappy subject for the sculptor. On one side kneels Sir *John Wynn* of *Wynn-stay*, baronet; and on the other, *Jane* his wife, daughter to *Eyton Evans*, by whom he acquired the estate. He died at the age of ninety-one, in 1718; and left his fortune to Sir *W. W. Wynn*, who was nearly related to him; Sir *John* being descended by the male, Sir *Watkin* by the female line from the great *Gweddyr* stock. His mother being the daughter and sole heiress of *Edward Thelwal* esq. of *Plás y ward*, by *Sydney Wynn* only daughter of *William Wynn* esq. prothonotary of *North Wales*, and seventh son of the old baronet. Sir *John* is represented blind: this accident (in his extreme age) is mentioned in his epitaph as a benefit, since his inward perceptions were improved by this bodily defect. It reminds me of two lines of *Waller*, in which the same idea is much better expressed:

The soul's dark cottage batter'd and decay'd
 Lets in new light, thro' chinks which time hath made.

IN the same chapel is an antient tomb, of the altar fashion, with monkish *pleureurs* on the sides, and angels holding shields of now defaced arms. On the top are recumbent two figures; an armed man with a collar of SS, and a lady lying on a

cloak; at their feet a lion, with a monk sitting on it, with his head reclined on one hand.

AROUND the edges of the tomb is this inscription;

Orate pro anima *Johannis ap Elis Eyton*, armigeri, qui obiit vicesimo octavo die mensis *Septembris*, anno Domini 1526; et pro anima *Elizabeth Calfeſey*, uxoris ejus, quæ obiit xi. die mensis *Junii*, anno Domini 1524; quorum animabus propitiatur Deus. *Amen.*

THIS gentleman joined *Henry VII.* before the battle of *Bosworth*; and for his good services had considerable grants of land in these parts. He was of the house of *Eyton* before mentioned. His grandfather was twice married to the same lady; who, on some pretence of consanguinity, had been divorced from him after bearing him a son of the name of *Ellis*: but, obtaining a dispensation, they were re-united in form. After the second marriage, were born other children. A division of the estates was then made: *Rhiwabon* and *Watstay* fell to the share of *Ellis*; and *Eyton* to *John*, the first of the second brood^a.

ON the other side of the altar is a noble monument to the first Sir *Watkin Williams Wynn*, whose virtues are still fresh in the minds of his countrymen. A fall from his horse, on *September* 26th 1749, deprived the world of a useful citizen. *Rysbrack* has preserved his figure in a graceful attitude. The late Doctor *King* of *St. Mary-hall* thus expressed the qualities of his mind:

^a *Eyton* Pedigree.

ADSSERTORI LIBERTATIS PUBLICÆ.

H. S. E.

WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN *Baronettus*.

Qui ab illustri *Britannorum* veterum stirpe oriundus, majoribus suis se dignissimum semper præbuit, et non modò nomine, sed virtute et fide hominem verè *Britannum*. Admodum juvenis in senatum electus confestim cunctis innotuit gravitate et judicio: Postquam verò et ipse de republica cœpit disputare, et libertatis patrocinium ac defensionem suscipere, incredibilem animi magnitudinem, atque ejus constantiam omnes ita suspexerunt, ut, cum senatûs princeps tum patriæ pater meritò haberetur. Tam rectis studiis et eâ singulari bonitate fuit præditus, ut non posset fieri, quin maximam sibi gratiam et venerationem compararet vir innocentissimus, idemque prudentissimus paterfamilias, continentissimus maritus, benignissimus hospes, optimus literarum patronus, et assiduus DEI et CHRISTIANÆ veritatis cultor. Ad hæc quam suavis et jucundus fuit in convictu! Quanta fides ejus sermonibus! Qualis in ore probitas et decor! Quæ mensæ reverentia! Quæ in cultu moderatio! Quæ in omni vita modestia, elegantia, comitas, liberalitas! Talis tantique viri immaturo interitu quam grave damnum fecit *Britanniæ*; quum cuncti qui ejus virtutes cognoverint (cognovit penitè qui hæc mœrens scripsit) eo erepto, miserorum omnium perfugium, bonorum omnium delicias, doctorum omnium præsidium, *Walliæ* suæ decus et ornamentum, et clarissimum reipublicæ lumen ereptum et extinctum esse fateantur!

Obiit 26^o. die *Septembris* 1749. Ætatis suæ 57^{mo}.

THE park of *Wynn-stay* reaches to the village WYNN-STAY.
of *Rhiwabon*; and is most advantageously situated.
The grounds well wooded; the views distinct and
extremely elegant; especially those towards the
Berwyn mountains, and the august breach made
into them beyond *Llangollen*, by the rapid *Dee*,
through the country of the *irregular and wild*
GLYNDWR.

NANT Y BELE, or the *Dingle of the Martin*, NANTYBELE.

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lies about a mile from hence, and merits a visit from every traveller. From a rock at its extremity, is a magnificent view of the *Dee*, rolling awefully in a deep chasm fringed with woods; at last terminating sullenly in a black and still pool. Towards the north is a great view of the conic mountain, and the rude fortress of *Dinas Brân*, rising amidst a fertile vale, and bounded by the barren *Alps*.

THE house has been built at various times. The most antient part is a gateway^e of wood and plaiſter, dated 1616. On a tower within the court, is this excellent distich, allusive to the name of the house:—*Wynn stay*, or rest satisfied with the good things Providence has so liberally showered on you.

Cui domus est victusque decens, cui patria dulcis,
Sunt satis hæc vitæ, cætera cura, labor.
Struxit *Johannes Wynn* miles et baronettus, A. D. 1706.

The former name of the place was *Wat-stay*, from its situation on the famous dyke; but was changed to the present by Sir *John Wynn*, out of respect to his own name. It was originally called simply *Rhiwabon*, and had been the residence of *Madog ap Gryffydd Maelor*, founder of *Valle Crucis*[†].

THE new part, built by the first Sir *Watkin*, is

^e This has been recently taken down. ED.

[†] *Eyton Pedigree*.

of itself a good house;⁽¹⁾ yet was only a portion of a more extensive design. It is finished in that substantial yet neat manner becoming the seat of an honest *English* country gentleman; adapted to the reception of his worthy neighbors, who may experience his hospitality without dread of spoiling the frippery ornaments, becoming only the assembly rooms of a town house, or the *villa* of a great city. The present owner^s meditates the re-building of the old part; and, as he has already shewn such good judgment in a noble room, in which simplicity is joined with grandeur, there is little doubt but he will preserve a style of local propriety throughout the whole.

ADJOINING to the house is a most beautiful small theatre, in which the munificent owner annually enlivens the gloomy season with dramatical entertainment^h during a whole week, and in a most princely manner treats the whole country with a most rational and elegant amusement.

THE present set of pictures belonging to the house are portraits of the families of *Wynn* and *Williams*. Here is a very fine three quarters of

(1) The house described by *Pennant*, together with most of the pictures, was destroyed by fire, March 6th, 1858. T.P.

^s The late Sir W. W. Wynn. Ed.

^h The present baronet has exchanged these amusements for an annual agricultural meeting, at which prizes are distributed with liberality, and the numerous visitors hospitably entertained. Ed.

the old Sir *John Wynn* of *Gweddyr*, in a high hat, and with a vast white beard, and in the dress of the times of *James I.* I reserve further mention of him till I arrive at his antient seat.

HIS son, Sir *John Wynn* knight, is drawn half-length; a young man, with whiskers and a peaked beard; dark hair; great flat ruff; black vest; white girdle, stuck with points; a white flowered baldric. Sir *John* died on his travels, at *Lucca*, and was succeeded by his brother *Richard*. A most exquisite head of Sir *Richard*, by *Vandyck*, is preserved here. He was gentleman of the privy-chamber to *Charles I.* when prince of *Wales*, and attended him in the romantic journey he took into *Spain*, in 1623, to visit his designed bride. Sir *Richard* drew up an admirable account of his travels, which is printed among other scarce tracts, by *Mr. Thomas Hearne*. On the accession of *Charles* to the throne, he was appointed treasurer to the queen; and, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother *Owen*.

A HALF-LENGTH of *Henry Wynn* esq. before mentioned, representative of the county of *Meirioneth*, in the last parlement of *James I.* He is painted in black hair, a great turn-over, and a letter in his hand. Here is also a portrait of another brother, a captain of a man of war, in the same dress: both of them good performances.

HERE are, besides, several more modern portraits; such as of the two late dukes of *Beaufort* in their robes. A composition, with *Charles* duke of *Beaufort* leaning on the late *Sir Watkin*'s shoulder, looking at the horse called *Legacy*. This figure of *Sir Watkin* is the strongest resemblance to him of any.

Two portraits of the late owner of this place, and his first lady, by *Dahl*. His full wig and dress give a very disadvantageous idea of him. The fashion is equally the misfortune of the artist and his employer.

A THREE-QUARTERS length of *Sir John Wynn*, baronet, with a full wig and cravat. The same whose monument we have before mentioned.

Two very fine full-lengths of *Charles II.* and his queen, close this short list.

ON my return to *Rhiwabon*, I passed through the turnpike towards *Wretham*. On the road I digressed a little to the left, to visit a great *Caer* in this parish, called the *Garthen*, i.e. *Caer-ddin*, GARTHEN. seated on a summit of a hill commanding a most extensive view around, of the fine and fertile country of *Maclor Cymraeg*, or *Bromfield*; and a part of *Maclor Saesneg*, or *English Maclor*, mostly flat and wooded. This *Caer* contains about four acres of ground, protected in some parts by one, in others with two very strong dikes and deep

ditches. The inner dike is made of loose stones, with a wall of vast thickness on the top. Within the area are many vestiges of buildings, the habitations of the old possessors. It lies two hundred yards from *Offa's* dike. Part of the turnpike-road is formed for a considerable way along the top of the dike, which shews its prodigious thickness. A fierce battle was fought near this place between *Owen Cyfeiliog* prince of *Powys* and the *English*, attended with victory to the antient *Britons*; which gave rise to a beautiful poem called *Hirlas Owain*, or the *Drinking Horn* of *Owain*, composed by the prince himselfⁱ.

I PURSUED the track of *Wat's* dike, passed near *Pentre Bychan*, the seat of ——— *Meredeth* esq. and soon reached *Erddig*, the elegant seat of *Philip Yorke* esq. a place where nature has been lavish of beauties, and improved by the excellent taste of the worthy owner^k. Two little vales bound his lands, watered by a pretty stream, and bordered with hanging woods. Along one side of the bank runs the dike; and at the end between the two vales, impending over them, are small but strong intrenchments. One sur-

ⁱ See Mr. *Evan Evans's* *Collection of Welsh Poems*, p. 1, and the elegant Translation, by the Reverend *Richard Williams*, in the succeeding volume of this *Tour*.

^k *Philip Yorke* esq. died in 1804, and was succeeded by his son *Simon Yorke* esq. Ed.

rounds a work of a pentagon form; beyond which, at the very verge, is a mount that seems to have been a *dernier ressort* to the garrison, in case they had been beaten out of the former. These compose what is called the *Roman fort*; but there are neither coins or any thing else to confirm the conjecture of its having been one. A fragment of wall cemented with mortar is all that remains of this castelet.

ERDDIG originally belonged to an old *Welsh* family of the same name, descended, I think, from *Tudor Trevor*. The estate was purchased by *John Edisbury* of *Pentre Clawd*, whose son *Joshua* built the present house in 1678. They were of *Cheshire* descent. The place was sold, under a decree in chancery, in 1715, to *John Meller*, of the family of *Meller Chapel* in *Derbyshire*, master in chancery, who bequeathed it to his nephew (son to his eldest sister) *Simon Yorke* esq. first cousin to the lord chancellor, earl of *Hardwick*, and father to the present worthy owner.

IN this neighborhood is the very antient house of *Sontley*, once possessed by a family of the same name¹, a branch of the *Eytons* of *Eyton*. And still more distant, towards the hills, is *Cadwgan Hall*, a very large old house. This place, with a considerable property, was owned by the *Jones's*,

SONTLEY
HOUSE.

CADWGAN
HALL.

¹ In old writings called *Soully* or *Sullie*.

of the stock of *Tudor Trevor*. *Edward Jones* esq. the last possessor, was most unfortunately made acquainted by his dearest friend *Thomas Salisbury* esq. of *Lleweni*, with a design of a foreign invasion, an attempt to restore the *Roman Catholic* religion, and to effect the deliverance of *Mary* queen of *Scots*, part of the *Babington* conspiracy. Neither of them seem to have had the least knowledge of the plan for assassinating *Elizabeth*. On the discovery of the plot *Salisbury* called at *Cadwgan* hall, and was assisted by his friend in his escape. *Jones* lent him a horse, and changed cloaths with his priest, in order likewise to secure his safety. *Salisbury* fled into *Cheshire*, but was soon taken. Both friends suffered together in *London*, *September* 21, 1586. Each died with true penitence: and *Jones* to his last breath declared that he owed his death to his fidelity to *Salisbury*, whom he had often tried to dissuade from his rash design^m.

WREXHAM.

WREXHAM lies at a small distance from *Erdidig*. This is the largest town in *North Wales*, and the parish the most populous. It appears by the ancient name to have been of *Saxon* origin; being

^m *Cumden's Life of Queen Elizabeth*, in *Kennet*, ii. 517, 518. *State Tryals*, i. 112. 120. 122.—*Jones's* estate was forfeited. The house, and part of the estate, were, by the bounty of the Queen, restored to the right heir, whose daughter and heiress *Anne* married captain *Roger Middleton*, second son of *Richard*, eldest son and heir of *Richard Middleton* of *Denbigh*. It is now the property of Mr. *Middleton* of *Chirk* castle.

called *Wrightesham*, and *Wrightelesham*. I can trace it no farther back than the time of the last earl *Warren*, who had a grant of itⁿ. *Leland* speaks of it as a place where there were some merchants and good buckler-makers°. The parish is at this time noted for a manufactory of instruments of war; but altered for those of offence, instead of defence. Near the place is a great foundery for cannon, under the direction of Mr. *Wilkinson*, who supplies many parts of *Europe* with this *ratio ultima regum*; and in the late war between the *Russians* and *Turks*, furnished both parties with this species of logic.

THESE forges are not far from *Ecclusham*, a house and estate belonging to the *Lloyds* of that place and *Dylassy*. The heiress of the last of these, Sir *Richard Lloyd*, governor of *Holt* castle, conveyed it by marriage to Sir *Henry Conway* bart. of *Bodrhyddan*. It fell afterwards to Sir *Thomas Longueville*, by marriage with a daughter of Sir *John Conway*, and was after that sold to *John Humberston* esq. and by him to Sir *Watkin Williams Wynn* bart.

THE church of *Wrexham* is the glory, not only CHURCH. of the place, but of *North Wales*. The inside of the church is very spacious; and consists of a nave, two ailes, and a chancel. Above the pillars is

ⁿ *Dugdale Baron*, i. 82.

^o *Itin*. v. 34.

TOMBS.

abundance of grotesque carving, in ridicule of the regular clergy, and the female religious, abbesses and nuns; and over the arches of the nave, are many of the arms of the old *British* and *Saxon* princes. The tombs are numerous. The most antient is of a knight all armed: at his feet is a dog, and beyond that a dragon, whose tail terminates in a serpent's head. On his shield is a lion rampant. Around is an inscription; but all I could make out was *Hic jacet* * * * * * *ap Howel*^p. This had been dug up, and is now reared against the steeple.

THAT of *Hugh Bellot* vicar of *Gresford*, and afterwards bishop of *Bangor* and of *Chester*, is the next. He lies in his robes recumbent, near the altar. It was his request to be interred in the parish where he died. His death happened at *Berse*, near this town, in 1596. His funeral was celebrated at *Chester*, and his body deposited here. It is reported that he had so strict a veneration for the celibacy of the priesthood, as never to permit a woman to inhabit or lie in his house^q.

ALMOST opposite the prelate is a magnificent monument, in memory of Mrs. *Mary Middleton*, daughter of Sir *Richard Middleton* of *Chirk castle*^r.

^p The letters are REH. (or R) EVEHIRE.

^q *Willis's Cathedr.* i. 332.

^r She died *April* 8th, 1747, aged 59.

She is represented rising out of her tomb in all the fullness of youth and beauty. She died a very withered woman; but I like the thought of the sculptor, allusive to the sublime passage in the burial service: *The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.* Above is a shattered pyramid, and, what might have been well excused, the gross representation of the angelic beings sounding the awakening call.

IN the corner of one aisle is a small but elegant monument of the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Middleton*, and his wife *Arabella Hacker*, by *Roubiliac*. Their faces are in profile on a medallion, with a curtain lightly hanging on one side.

AMONG the epitaphs are some to every taste. That to a worthy usher, my earliest instructor, in the school of this town, merits preservation.

Febr. 28, 1743, obiit
 Rev. GULIEL. LEWIS,
 Vir eruditus, affabilis, et benevolus,
 Qui nil turpe vel in se admisit
 Vel fovit in aliis.

THAT in the church-yard, on *Elihu Yale* of *Plus Gronw* esq. near *Erddig*, expresses an uncommon variety of fortune:

Born in <i>America</i> , in <i>Europe</i> bred,	}
In <i>Afric</i> travell'd, and in <i>Asia</i> wed,	
Where long he liv'd, and thriv'd; at <i>London</i> dead.	

Much good, some ill, he did; so hope all's even,
 And that his soul, through mercy's gone to heaven.
 You that survive, and read, take care
 For this most certain exit to prepare:
 For only the actions of the just
 Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.

HE was interred *July* 22d, 1721. He bestowed on the church the altar-piece, with the picture of the institution of the sacrament, which he brought from *Rome*; also the picture of king *David*. He had been governor of *Madras*, and most probably a very arbitrary one, for he hanged his groom for riding out with his horse, for two or three days to take the air, without his leave: for which *Yale* suffered severely in *England*^s. He married a *Jeronima de Paibia*, who, with her only son *Charles Yale*, lies buried at the *Cape of Good Hope*^t.

^s *Harris's Coll. Voy.* i. 97.

^t Their epitaph, as copied by the late Governor *Loten*, runs thus:

Hic jacet in tumulo
 CAROLUS YALE,
 filius Domini Yale, quondā
 gubernator *Madrassapatamie*,
 nec non JERONIMÆ de PAIBIA,
 juvenis admodum inclytus vir-
 -tute, et etiam elegans, unigeni-
 -tus suæ matris, et sui patris fili-
 -us unicus: Vivens ab omnibus
 amatus, nunc mortuus deplo-
 -ratus: natus fuit in *Madras-*
-sapatamia, et hic obiit Jan^{rii}
 vicesimo tertio, anno ætatis
 suæ vicesimo secundo, annoque
 Domini 17¹¹/₁₂

OF the following the first is simple; the second, what the *Spectator* calls light, but nervous; and the third informs you, that the deceased had lived, but not that he died.

Here lies a churchwarden
A choyce flower in that garden,
Joseph Critchley by name,
Who lived in good fame:
Being gone to his rest,
Without doubt he is blest.

Died 10th of *March* 1673—4.

Here lies interr'd beneath these stones,
The beard, the flesh, and eke the bones,
Of *Wrexham* clerk, old *Daniel Jones*. 1668.

Here lies *John Shore*,
I say no more;
Who was alive
In sixty-five. *October* 9th.

ON the outside of the church is a great variety of ludicrous and gross sculpture. The steeple is a STEEPLE. fine tower, richly ornamented on three sides with rows of saints placed in rich gothic niches. Among them is *St. Giles*, the patron saint of the church, with the hind which miraculously nourished him in the desert. At each corner is a light turret with a winding stair-case, twenty-four feet high:

Sepulta etiam est hic mater
ejus *JERONIMA DE PAIBIA*,
quæ pro amore sui filii reli-
quit *Indian*, ut cum illo hic
jaceret.

the whole height of the steeple is a hundred and thirty-five feet.

Two casualties are recorded to have befallen this building. The steeple was blown down on *St. Catherine's* day, 1331; and the church was burnt about the year 1457. In order to rebuild it, an indulgence of forty days, for five years, was granted to every contributor to so pious a work. It was finished a little before the year 1472; and, according to an account I received from a friend, was in that year glazed with glass from *Normandy*. The steeple, as appears by a date on it, was not finished till 1506. The fine brazen eagle, which serves as a reading-desk, was the gift of *John ap Gryffydd ap Dafydd* of *Ystiran*, in this neighborhood, in the year 1524. Its price was six poundsⁿ.

THE church is a vicarage, formerly an impropriation, belonging to the abbey of *Valle Crucis*; but on a dispute between *Anian*, the second bishop of *St. Asaph*, was restored to the see^x. This great cure is assisted by two chapels; *Minera*, or *Mwyn clawdd*, the *Mine upon the ditch*, from that of *Offa* running by it: this is a rich mineral tract, in the mountainous part of the parish. The other

ⁿ *Halston MSS.*

^x See the account of *Valle Crucis*, in the further progress of this work.

chapel is that of *Berse*, or *Bersham*, a recent foundation.

THE free-school is endowed with ten pounds a year, paid by the mayor of *Chester*, being the bequest of *Valentine Broughton*, alderman of that city, for the instruction of twelve boys.

THE western part of this parish is hilly and mineral. Part of the mines on the waste are the MINES. property of lord *Grosvenor*, and some belong to the corporation of *Chester*. *Brymbo*, another township on the heights, produces coal. In this place the inhabitants of *Holt* had, by the charter granted to them in 1410, by *Thomas* earl of *Arun- del*, the liberty of digging for turf and coals. The house of *Brymbo* is a good antient seat, once the property of the *Griffiths*; then, by marriage, of the *Claytons* of *Shropshire*; and at present of *Ashton Smith* esq. in right of his mother, youngest daughter of Mr. *Clayton*. The far greater part of the parish is either flat, or composed of gentle risings, extremely fertile and pleasant, inhabited by a numerous gentry, who still preserve the character left of their predecessors, by honest *Churchyard*, the simple swan of the reign of *Elizabeth*.

Theye are the joye and gladnesse of the poore,
That dayly feede the hungrie at their doore:
In any soyle where gentlemen are found,
Some house is kept, and bountie doth abound.

FROM *Wrexham* I made an excursion to *Gres-*
 ACTON. *ford*, and on my road called at *Acton*, the seat of
 my good friend *Ellis Yonge* esq. by purchase from
 the trustees of the late *John Robinson* of *Gwersilt*,⁽¹⁾
 esq^r. This place was formerly the property of the
Jeffries, a race that, after running uncontaminated
 CHANCELLOR from an antient stock^z, had the disgrace of produc-
 JEFFRIES. ing in the last century *George Jeffries*, chancellor
 of *England*; a man of first-rate abilities in his
 profession, but of a heart subservient to the worst
 of actions. His portrait^a is a fine full-length, in
 his baron's robes, painted by Sir *Godfrey Kneller*.
Charles II. sat to this great painter; who survived
 to draw *George I.* and to receive from him the
 dignity of baronet. *Jeffries* was sixth son of

(1) *John Robinson*, grandson of the Colonel of that name, married
 the eldest daughter of Sir *Griffith Jeffreys*, of *Acton*, the nephew of
 the Chancellor. Sir *Griffith*, who died in 1693, left a son *Robert*,
 who died young, and three daughters, viz. *Elizabeth*, the wife of *John*
Robinson; *Margaret*, who died unmarried, and *Frances*, the wife of
Philip Egerton, of *Oulton*. Mr. and Mrs. *Egerton* had no children,
 and *Acton* thus became the property of the *Robinsons*. *Lady Doro-*
thy, the widow of Sir *Griffith*, survived her husband many years.
 She was a daughter of *Robert Pleydell*, of *Holyrood Amney*, in *Glou-*
cestershire. Her will contains several charitable bequests in favour
 of *Wrexham*, and other parishes, where she is still remembered as
 “*Dame Dorothy Jeffreys*.” T.P.

^y *Acton Park* was purchased in 1785 from Mr. *Yonge's* trustees,
 by Sir *Foster Cunliffe* bart. who has enlarged the house and embel-
 lished the grounds with distinguished taste and judgement. ED.

^z From *Kynric ap Rhicallon*, great grandson of *Tudor Trevor*.

^a This portrait and that of his brother are removed to *Erddig*. ED.

John Jeffries, and *Margaret* daughter to Sir *Thomas Ireland* of *Beausey*, near *Warrington*. Here is preserved a good portrait of the old gentleman, in black, sitting: it was drawn in the 82d year of his age, in 1690. *George* had his first education at the free-school at *Shrewsbury*^b, from which he was removed to that of *Westminster*. He never had an academic education, but was placed immediately in the inner temple, where he was chiefly supported by his grand-mother. He was never regularly called to the bar. The accident of the plague in the neighborhood of *London* first introduced him into his profession; for, in 1666, he put on a law-gown, and pleaded at the *Kingston* assizes, where few counsel chose to attend; he from that time acted without any notice being taken of his obstrusion. About this time, he made clandestine addresses to the daughter of a wealthy merchant; in which he was assisted by a young lady, the daughter of a clergyman. The affair was discovered, and the *confidante* turned out of doors. *Jeffries*, with a generosity unknown to him in his prosperous days, took pity and married her. She proved an excellent wife, and lived to see him lord chief justice of *England*. On her death he married the widow of Mr. *Jones* of *Montgomeryshire*, and daughter to Sir *Thomas Blodworth*.

^b *Hist. Shrewsbury*, 128.

His first preferment from the court was that of a *Welsh* judge. In 1680, he was made chief justice of *Chester*; and a baronet in 1681. After this, he rose with great rapidity; and, as is well known, fell as suddenly. His conduct, as chancellor, was upright and able; as a politician, unrestrained by any principle; devoted to the worst measures of an infatuated court. He was extremely given to the bottle; and paid so little respect to his character, that one day having drank to excess with the lord treasurer and others, they were going to strip, and get upon a sign-post to drink the king's health, had not they been prevented^c. He died in the tower on the 18th of *April* 1689, either from hard drinking or a broken heart, and so was preserved from the infamy of public execution. He was buried privately in the tower, by an order from the king to his relations.

HERE is another fine full length of one of his brothers, Sir *Thomas Jeffries*, a knight of *Alcantara*: and, for the honor of the descendants of *Tudor Trevor*, from whom the *Jeffries* have sprung, the proofs of his descent were admired even by the proud *Spaniards*, among whom he had long resided as consul, at *Alicant* and *Madrid*. He had rendered himself so acceptable to the *Spanish* mini-

^c *Reresby's Memoirs*, 231.

stry, as to be recommended to our court to succeed lord *Landsdowne*, as *British* envoy; but the Revolution put a stop to the promotion. He has over his coat a long white cloak, with the cross of the order on it. Another brother was dean of *Rochester*, and died on his road to visit his brother the chancellor, when under confinement in the tower.

GRESFORD, or *Croes-ffordd*,⁽¹⁾ the road of the cross, lies about two miles further. The church is seated on the brow of a lofty eminence, over a beautiful little valley, which opens into the vast expanse of the vale royal of *Cheshire*; and exhibits a view of uncommon elegance. The church is extremely handsome; but less ornamented than that of *Wreham*, though built in the same reign. On the top of the tower are images of the apostles. On one side, in a niche, is another of *Henry VII.* The neat reparation of the inside, is owing to the

(1) The Welsh name which became Gresford was in full, not Croes-ffordd, but Y Groes-ffordd, the Cross-road, in which the Welsh article causes the mutation of the initial consonant when the noun happens to be feminine. So in many other cases the Welsh name appears with the softer initial, though the article has been omitted. But the country people have not translated the article in this case, as they do not call the place the Gresford, though the neighbouring village is always called the Rosset, for Welsh Y Rhosydd, as I am told. J.R.

direction and excellent judgment of the reverend Mr. *Newcome*, the present vicar^d.

TOMBS. HERE are two antient monuments: one, much hid by a pew, a flat stone, with a shield and other sculpture. The arms on the shield are three mullets on a bend. These shew the deceased to have been one of the later posterity of *Ithel ap Ednyfed*, whose father had the townships of *Gresford* and *Allington* bestowed on him for services done to *Bleddyn ap Cynfyn*, in the wars against the English. *Ithel* inherited also *Lleprog Fawr*, *Lleprog Fechan*, and *Trefnant* in *Englefield*. Many of his offspring were buried here^e.

IN the north aisle is a tomb of a warrior armed in mail. On his shield is a lion rampant: and round the verge, *Hic jacet MADOC AP LLEWELIN AP GRUFF*.⁽¹⁾ He was of *Eyton*, *Erlisham*, and *Rhiwabon*. He was buried on St. *Mathias's* day 1331.

THE TREVORS. HERE are, besides, some mural monuments of the *Trevors* of *Trevalyn*. The family was de-

^d Deceased. ED.

^e *Salisbury Pedigree*.

(1) The real name is *Griffri*. A few years ago on pulling down a wall at *Pantiocyn*, an old mansion not far from *Gresford*, several stones were found which had evidently been carried there from a church. One of these is a portion of a tombstone, and has a shield with a lion rampant on it, and the inscription, *Hic jacet Griffri*, in excellent preservation. This stone has been removed to *Gresford Church*, where in all probability it was placed originally. T.P.

scended from that of *Brynkinalt*, and possessed this place by the marriage of *Richard*, fourth son of *John Trevor*, to *Mallt*, daughter and sole heiress to *Jenkin ap Dafydd ap Gryffydd* of *Alynton*, i. e. *Trevalyn*. In after times, *Thomas*, a second son of the house, and an eminent lawyer, was created baron *Trevor* of *Bromham*^t, a title now lost in the new creation of viscount *Hampden*. The first is of *John Trevor* esq. placed in armour, in a reclining posture, with an inscription in *Welsh*, on a tablet concealing half his body. It signifies, that he died in *London* in *June* 1589; and that his son, Sir *Richard*, caused his bones to be removed to this place.

SIR RICHARD erected his own monument in 1638, in the 80th year of his age, representing himself in armour, kneeling: and his wife *Catherine*, daughter of *Robert Puleston* esq. of *Emral*, by him. The inscription informs us, that it was chiefly in memory of his lady that he caused this memorial to be erected. He served many years in the *Irish* wars; was governor of *Newry*, and the counties of *Down* and *Ardmagh*; council of the marches, and vice-admiral of *North Wales*; and lived (as he tells us) to see his children's children's children. There is another monument to his lady, who is placed kneeling with her five daughters.

^t *December* 31, 1711.

TREFALYN. AT their neighboring seat of *Trefalyn*, is a singular portrait of Sir *Richard*, dressed in black. Above hang his arms, with the words *So then:* beneath are some medicines, and *Now thus:* allusive to his former and present state.

IN this parish lived the *Aylmers*, now extinct. They were descended from *Eynydd ap Gwerngwy*, one of the fifteen tribes, on whom *Bleddyn ap Cynfyn* bestowed great possessions in these parts; amongst others *Aylmer*, from which place, *John*, one of his descendants, took his surname. A family of the name of *Langford* had likewise property in this parish.

THE ROFTS. AT the extremity of the lofty slope that impends over the plains, and affords an almost boundless view to the north and north-east, is a peninsulated field, called the *Rofts*, that formed, in old times, a strong *British* post. It is defended by three strong dikes and fosses, cut across the narrow isthmus that connects it to the higher parts of the parish. On two sides it is inaccessible by reason of the steepness of the declivity; and on the fourth, which fronts *Cheshire*, and is of easier ascent, it had been protected by two or three other ditches, now almost levelled by the plough. In one corner of this post is a vast exploratory mount. This seems to have been an important station; an out-guard to our country against invaders; which made

an artificial elevation quite necessary, in order to observe the motions of an enemy. It lies, I think in the manor of *Merford*; which, with that of *Horsely*,⁽¹⁾ was by act of parlement, in the reign of *Henry VIII.* flung into the county of *Flint*; but whether they extend to the parish of *Hope*, in *Flintshire*, or are surrounded by *Denbighshire*, I am uncertain.

IN the neighbourhood of *Gresford*, stood the *Lower Gwersilt*,⁽²⁾ a house burnt down *April* the 20th, 1738, by which the country lost the worthy and respectable family of the *Shakerlies*, who settled there soon after the restoration. They were originally of *Shakerly* in *Lancashire*, but removed to this place almost immediately on the return of the royal family. Colonel (afterwards Sir *Jeffry*) *Shakerly* was a distinguished loyalist, and had the command of a regiment of horse under *Charles I.* During his service he contracted a great friendship with colonel *Robinson*, owner of the *Upper Gwersilt*; which induced him, soon after the year 1660, to purchase this estate from captain *Sutton*, an old

LOWER
GWERSILT.

(1) *Merford* and *Horsley*—not *Horsely*—are surrounded by *Denbighshire*. T.R.

(2) *Gwersilt* is more usually written *Gwersyllt*; it is one of the forms of a word which means a camp, the more common one being *gwersyll*, with the *t* discarded or assimilated. J.R.

cavalier, descended from *Tudor Trevor*, and ruined in the royal cause. This the colonel did, not only to re-place a considerable estate he had been obliged to sell in *Kent*, in support of the cause, but to be near his friend and fellow-soldier. No mention is made of him in any of the histories of our civil commotions, notwithstanding he was engaged in most of the actions of any note. The account of what preceded the battle of *Rowton-Heath*, near *Chester*, is extremely curious, and merits preservation; which I deliver in the Appendix^h, in the manner I received it, by the favor of his grandson, the late *Peter Shakerley*, esq.

UPPER
GWERSILT.

JUST above the *Lower* stands the *Upper Gwersilt*, the seat of *John Cawley Humberston Cawley* esqⁱ. The views, from the grounds, of the *Hope* mountains, and *Caergwrle* castle, are very fine; and the walks beneath, by the side of the *Alyn*, are singularly romantic and beautiful. This estate belonged to colonel *Robinson*, a distinguished royalist, who on the death of *Charles I.* was obliged to fly the country. He left his house in a most ruinous condition; but on the restoration returned and repossessed himself of it, and had

^h Appendix, No. IV.

ⁱ Sold by him to — *Atherston* esq. ED.

the satisfaction of finding it well rebuilt by some usurping hand^k.

I RETURNED through *Wrexham*, and visited the MARCHWIEL small church of *Marchwiel*, about three miles distant from the town. In it is a small elegant monument, in memory of Miss *Yorke* of *Erddig*, who, in the early spring, and opening into bloom, was snatched away in 1770, in her sixteenth year. Contemplation, in form of a female figure, in a loose dress and clasped hands, hangs sorrowing over a rose bush, a bud of which, expressive of the subject, is fallen within the circle of a serpent denoting eternity.

MARCHWIEL-HALL lies at a small distance from the church. It was long possessed by a younger branch of the *Broughtons* of *Broughton*. Just before the restoration, *Edward Broughton*, esq. happened to be confined in the *Gate-house* for his loyalty. He fell in love with the daughter of the keeper, one *Wike*, and bound himself to her by a bond^l of the most uncommon imprecations. He married her, and dying without issue, bequeathed his estate to his wife's brother, the descendants of whom enjoyed it till within these twenty years.

* See the colonel's epitaph in the Appendix, No. V.

^l See Appendix, No. VI.

FROM hence I returned by the same road to my quarters at *Llangollen*.

LLANDYSI-
LIO.

IN the morning I took a ride to view the country that lies to the south-west. The road lay on the same side of the river with the town: I ascended a hill cloathed in many parts with birch. From the summit was a most elegant view; one way, of the antient castle on its conic hill, and the mural ranges of the *Glisseg* rocks in various tiers behind. Beneath, on the other side, lies the house of *Llandysilio*, the seat of *Thomas Jones* esq. in a pretty vale, watered by the *Dee*, that winds along the bottom, after passing between two rocky promontories, that barely give it a channel. The former possessors of *Llandysilio* were the *Cupers* or *Cuppers*, styled even so early as the time of *Henry II.* the antient *Cuppers of the North^m*, who had settlements in *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, and *Shropshire*. One of them purchased this estate, and his daughter and sole heiress conveyed it into the present family, by marriage with Mr. *Jones*, then of *Llanbothian* in the county of *Montgomery*.

CHURCH.

THE church is dedicated to *St. Tysilio*, prince of *Powys*, son of *Brochwel Ysgithrog*, by *Arddun*

^m *Cupper's Pedigree at Llandysilio.*

Benasgell, or *Arddun* with the winged head, daughter of St. *Pabo* post *Prydain*, or the pillar of *Britain*. This parish is in the hundred of YALE; which contains, besides, those of *Bryn Eglwys*, *Llandegla*, *Llanarmon*, and *Llanferres*.

YALE.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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